

PROCEEDINGS

2ND BIENNIAL EO/EEO RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

December 2-4, 1997
Cocoa Beach, Florida

Sponsored by the
Directorate of Research
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)
Patrick Air Force Base, Florida

Mickey R. Dansby, Proceedings Editor
Published April 1998



REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE 01 Apr 98		3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Final - April 1998
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Proceedings: 2nd Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Various (Editor: Dr. Mickey Dansby)				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Directorate of Research Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute 740 O'Malley Road MS9121 Patrick Air Force Base, Florida 32925-3399			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER DEOMI RSP 98-4	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) Proceedings are presented from a biennial military equal opportunity/equal employment opportunity (EO/EEO) research symposium sponsored by the Directorate of Research at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute. Included are research papers, poster session abstracts, panel presentation summaries, and synopses of invited speaker presentations. Eighteen separate sessions are detailed, representing the work of 36 contributors from the United States, Canada, and Sweden. Issues addressed include race, gender, and other EO/EEO concerns of interest to the military Services.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS Equal opportunity, equal employment opportunity, race, ethnicity, gender, equal opportunity climate, intercultural research, race relations, racism, sexism, sexual harassment			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 273	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UNLIMITED	

PROCEEDINGS
2nd BIENNIAL EO/EEO RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

December 2-4, 1997

COCOA BEACH, FLORIDA

sponsored by the

Directorate of Research

Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)
Patrick Air Force Base, Florida

Mickey R. Dansby, Proceedings Editor
Published April 1998

Preface

PROCEEDINGS
2nd BIENNIAL EO/EEO RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM

December 2-4, 1997

COCOA BEACH, FLORIDA

The EO/EEO Research Symposium is held as a vehicle to encourage interested researchers to share their work with other researchers and practitioners in the military equal opportunity (EO) and equal employment opportunity (EEO) fields. This document is a record of symposium activities and results. In keeping with the goals of the symposium, it is provided in the interest of scholarly discourse.

There were four structured activities at the symposium:

1. Invited presentations
2. Paper sessions
3. Panel sessions
4. A poster session

These proceedings document the activities in order of occurrence. The next page provides an overall symposium schedule.

The symposium is presented to encourage scientific and scholarly discourse, and the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) does not necessarily endorse the views presented, nor does DEOMI bear responsibility for the contents of the presentations. In each case, **the views presented are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies unless otherwise indicated.** Each author bears full responsibility for the content and accuracy of his or her work.

Mickey R. Dansby, Ph.D.
Director of Research
Defense Equal Opportunity
Management Institute
Editor

DEOMI EO/EEO Research Symposium Schedule

<i>TIME</i>	Tuesday, December 2	Wednesday, December 3	Thursday, December 4
0830-0930	Mr. Leftwich (DASD/EO) - Welcome Remarks Col Bolton, Dr. Dansby (DEOMI) - Welcome	Dr. Mark Eitelberg (women and minorities in the military: research trends/future directions)	Dr. Jack Edwards (opportunities for assessing military EO: an integrative program-evaluation strategy)
0945-1045	Dr. Charles Moskos (achieving racial and gender equity: are they the same?)	Paper Session B (EO climate and work group issues)	Dr. Naomi Verdugo (a review of Army human resources issues)
1100-1200	Dr. John Sibley Butler (60 years of research on EO in the military)	Dr. Mady Wechsler Segal (women's military roles: past, present, future)	Panel Session 2 (EEO issues)
1200-1330	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
1330-1430	Paper Session A (EO Climate in the military)	Paper Session C (contemporary EO issues in society and the military)	Paper Session D (sexual harassment)
1445-1545	Dr. Joe Feagin (the future of U.S. society: demographics and racism)	Dr. W. S. Sellman (effect of youth attitudes on military recruiting)	Dr. Dan Landis (the future of intercultural research: application to the military setting)
1600-1700	Dr. Arthur Gutman (adverse impact: not exactly what you thought it was)	Panel Session 1 (EO climate measurement issues)	Panel Session 3 (measuring EO climate in settings outside the U.S. military: issues of validity)
1715-1800	Poster Session No-host mixer - Carlyle's Lounge		

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Welcoming Remarks	1
Mr. William E. Leftwich, III Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Equal Opportunity)	
Invited Speaker	8
Dr. Charles Moskos Northwestern University	
<i>Achieving Racial and Gender Equity in the Military: Are They the Same?</i>	
Invited Speaker	12
Dr. John Sibley Butler University of Texas	
<i>Sixty Years of Research on Providing Opportunities within the Military</i> and <i>Overcoming Race: Some Army Lessons for Society</i> (with Charles Moskos)	
Paper Session A	18
EO Climate in the Military	
<i>The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS): An Update</i> M. R. Dansby	18
<i>Different Worlds: A Status Group Point of View Approach to Equal Opportunity Climate</i> Miles Simpson	35
<i>The Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An Update on What the Bosses Believe</i> M. R. Dansby	49
Invited Speaker	54
Dr. Joe Feagin University of Florida	
<i>The Future of U.S. Society in an Era of Racism, Group Segregation, and Demographic Revolution</i>	
Invited Speaker	68
Dr. Arthur Gutman Florida Institute of Technology	
<i>Adverse Impact: Not Exactly What You Thought It Was</i>	

Poster Session	69
<i>Leadership and Gender within the Swedish Armed Forces</i> Anders W. Berggren	69
<i>Experiences of Female Officers</i> Ebbe Blomgren & Anders W. Berggren	69
<i>A Pilot Survey of Equal Opportunity Officers' Opinions of Sexual Harassment Issues</i> G. E. Murray	70
<i>Hispanic Social Representation in the Army: Can We Get There from Here?</i> J. C. Jones	70
<i>Developing Better Equal Opportunity Advisors: The Utilization of the Five Factor Model of Personality at DEOMI</i> Jose Bolton, Eurydice Stanley, & Schuyler Webb	71
Invited Speaker	72
Dr. Mark Eitelberg Naval Postgraduate School	
<i>Women and Minorities in the Military: Charting a Course for Research</i>	
Paper Session B	84
EO Climate and Work Group Issues	
<i>The Effects of Percentage of Diversity upon Work Group Effectiveness</i> Stephen B. Knouse	84
<i>An Empirical Study of Discriminatory Climates and Work Group Functioning</i> Robert E. Niebuhr, Michael J. Masterson, Katherine E. Niebuhr, & Stephen B. Knouse	92
<i>Variance in Responses to the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: Practical and Theoretical Issues</i> Robert M. McIntyre, Simon A. Bartle, & M. R. Dansby	101
Invited Speaker	108
Dr. Mady Wechsler Segal University of Maryland	
<i>Women's Military Roles: Past, Present, and Future</i>	
Paper Session C	113
Contemporary EO Issues in Society and the Military	
<i>Do We Need a New Multiracial Category?</i> Larry Hochhaus	113

<i>Stealth Affirmative Action: Not on Radar But Doing Some Damage</i> Rupert W. Nacoste	124
Invited Speaker	133
Dr. W. S. Sellman Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)	
<i>The Effect of Youth Attitudes and Interests on Military Recruiting</i>	
Panel Session 1	153
<i>Equal Opportunity Climate in the Military Services: Past, Present, and Future</i> Paul Rosenfeld, Amy Culbertson, Morris Peterson, Naomi Verdugo, & M. R. Dansby	
Invited Speaker	170
Dr. Jack Edwards Defense Manpower Data Center	
<i>Opportunities for Assessing Military EO: A Researcher's Perspective on Identifying an Integrative Program-Evaluation Strategy</i>	
Invited Speaker	182
Dr. Naomi Verdugo Department of the Army	
<i>A Review of Army Human Resource Issues</i>	
Panel Session 2	182
<i>Research Issues in Civilian Equal Employment Opportunity Programs</i> Ronald D. Shanks	
Paper Session D	191
Sexual Harassment	
<i>Capturing Headlines: Newspaper Coverage of Sexual Harassment in the Military</i> G. E. Murray	191
<i>Understanding Sexual Harassment in the Military: A Model for Future Research</i> Armando X. Estrada & Kimberly T. Schneider	202

Invited Speaker	215
------------------------	------------

Dr. Dan Landis
University of Mississippi

The Future of Intercultural Research: Application to the Military Setting

Panel Session 3	238
------------------------	------------

EO Climate Measurement Outside the U.S. Military: Issues of Validity

Dan Landis, Paul Rosenfeld, J. W. Berry, & Rudolf Kalin

Tuesday, December 2

0700

On-Site Registration

0830

Welcoming Remarks

Mr. William E. Leftwich, III
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Equal Opportunity)

Remarks of Mr. Leftwich

Thank you Colonel Bolton and good morning to all of you. I'm delighted to have this opportunity to welcome you to the second Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute EO/EEO Research Symposium.

As I look out among our distinguished and erudite participants this morning, I see a dedicated and enthusiastic group whose often uncelebrated but diligent study of human relations issues affecting our diverse military and civilian workforce is requisite to our continued mission readiness and success. This conclave of America's most renown experts in this field of study promulgates an awareness of the research being conducted; sharing of the results of many of those studies; and ideas where the Department might want to map its direction for additional EO/EEO research or action. It is your work that keeps us on the cutting edge of the significant issues that we have seen or that have the potential to be played out in the public press.

I have had several meetings with the Honorable Rudy DeLeon, Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, since he assumed office last July, replacing Ed Dorn, whom many of you here know. In virtually every one of those meetings, Secretary DeLeon has told me that he likes the way my deputate is stepping up to the plate on the tough issues and challenges in areas such as extremism, gender issues, and possible disparities in the military criminal justice system between African Americans and Whites.

In fact, joining you this week are several notable names who've done some preliminary research on this latter subject. Dr. Dan Landis, from the University of Mississippi, where are you? Dr. Mickey Dansby, DEOMI's Director of Research and your host while you are here this week; and Drs. Charlie Moskos and John Sibley Butler, authors of the book, *All That We Can Be*, are you out there? Much of the data and information from the results of their studies was crucial in preparing my presentation to the national NAACP convention in Pittsburgh, last July, following

their call for a panel presentation to discuss the aftermath of Aberdeen, where virtually all of the drill instructors brought to courts-martial were African Americans. The individuals I mentioned have laid the groundwork for this timely and relevant topic, but we know we still have a lot of work to do to try and explain why there is an apparent disparity of more than 2 to 1 between Whites and Blacks.

My hope is, over the next three days, you will begin to formulate ideas of additional areas where we need to concentrate our efforts as we head into the next millennium. And, if you'll indulge me for a brief commercial message: This symposium is one of two crucial forums where we disseminate the significant contributions my deputate, and especially DEOMI, are making in the field of human relations. The other venue is our Worldwide Equal Opportunity Conference. Plans are underway for the third of these highly acclaimed events to take place in Birmingham, Alabama, the last week of July 1998. The focus of this year's conference will be the golden anniversary of the racial integration of our federal government and military as a result of President Truman's executive orders 9980 and 9981. Additionally, the conference will also feature President Clinton's "One America in the 21st Century."

As we in the Department of Defense move toward the 21st Century, Secretary Cohen, on November 10th, announced his Defense Reform Initiative to aggressively apply to the Department business practices that American industry has successfully used to become leaner and yet remain competitive. The projected savings will help to fund the "Revolution in Military Affairs," which includes developing and procuring a new generation of smart weapons systems we need to ensure America's military superiority on the high-tech battlefield. Additionally, the Defense Reform Initiative aims to ensure DoD support elements are responsive enough to the warfighters, who are rapidly applying new technologies and information based weapons systems to change the way they fight.

There are four pillars to this initiative:

(1) Re-engineering by benchmarking the best private-sector business practices in defense support activities. This includes paperless workcenters for contracting major weapons systems, weapons support, and logistics; utilizing electronic catalogues and shopping malls; ending the printing of defense regulations and publishing only on CD-ROM; and replacing the "just in case" military paradigm with the "just in time" mindset of modern business.

(2) The next pillar focuses on consolidation. The Secretary's office will be reduced in size by 33 percent over the next 18 months; defense agency staffing will be cut by 21 percent in the next five years; and staffs in DoD field and related activities will be reduced by 36 percent through the next two years. There will also be consolidation of effort on threat reduction and treaty compliance; the establishment of a chancellor for education and professional development to raise the quality of civilian training and professional development; and enhancement of the National Guard and Reserves in domestic emergency response.

(3) The third element of reform is competition. DoD-wide, every organization will ask themselves this very important question: "Who can carry out the Defense support functions

better, the government or the private sector?" Past competitions are yielding an annual savings of 1.5 billion dollars. Closer to my interests, if I had to answer that question today for my deputate, I'd have to say DEOMI wins this one hands down because they are a world-class, one-of-a-kind operation. By 1999, the Department will have evaluated its entire military and civilian workforce to find areas that are commercial in nature that could be competed.

(4) The fourth and final pillar of the Secretary's reform strives to eliminate unneeded infrastructure. Since the end of the Cold War, the Defense Budget has shrunk by 40 percent; by 2003 military staffing will decline by 36 percent; but, even after four rounds of base closings, the Department's domestic base structure has only been cut by 21 percent. In the near future, DoD will request that Congress authorize two additional rounds of base closures: one in Fiscal Year 2001 and another in Fiscal Year 2005. Each round is projected to provide an additional annual savings of 1.4 billion dollars. And, one last component of this pillar is to privatize all Department utility systems so that by January 1st, 2000 we are managing energy, not power or utility infrastructure.

As these programs are implemented, it is imperative that my organization looks ahead at the potential human relations impact of these actions. Within the next five years we will be doing business with nearly one-third fewer people than we had during the Cold War. Yet, the aggressive operations tempo has remained relatively constant with global humanitarian missions and most recently with having to redouble our efforts with Iraq.

One potentially negative impact that could happen as a result of this streamlining involves the utilization of women as long as the ground-combat exclusion remains. We are projected to have one-third less troops, yet no equal reduction for the need for ground-combat forces. That means additional males in support functions will have to fill those positions leaving women to backfill support functions.

Additionally, the projected consolidation of infrastructure and possible base closings means there will be even fewer regions in our country with a full time military presence. In turn, this could adversely affect the propensity of young men and women to enlist because of a lack of exposure to role models and mentors.

But, most importantly, what effect will the move to information technology in advanced weapons systems have on military entrance standards? We are going to be looking for and competing with the private sector for America's brightest and most talented young men and women. Given the pernicious under-current for ending Affirmative Action programs, the results could be devastating to women and minorities who are the predominant new entrants to the 21st Century workforce. And, although the tendency is to look at these issues in Black and White, we must not ignore the fact that we will witness a dramatic shift in population that will propel Hispanics to the forefront as the largest national minority population not long after the turn of the century. And given the current trend in high dropout rates for Hispanic high school students, military service may not be an option open to many of them.

These are cogent issues that we in the Department of Defense must study and address with proactive initiatives today in order to remain a model of diversity for society and the world at large and to remain the world's most respected fighting force. And, these same elements are at the very core of a National issue that I want to spend the next few minutes talking about--One America in the 21st Century--President Clinton's Initiative on Race.

A couple of weeks ago, I was at the White House to participate in dialogues about this new initiative. I for one, as all Americans should, applaud the President's action in this matter. I commend him, not because of my position, not because of my heritage, but because he is the only President to voluntarily open a dialogue on race. Verily, a handful of administrations have been forced to deal with this issue because of political pressures during their term in office. Lincoln dealt with a nation torn at its very fabric by popular sentiments on both sides of the slavery issue; Truman, albeit with the most aggressive civil rights legislation and doctrine since Reconstruction did so under the backlash of post-World War II African Americans, who had returned from fighting for American principals and ideals, only to return to segregation, Jim Crow laws, and no right to vote; and finally, Kennedy had no choice as the civil rights movement came to a head on his watch. These administrations were forced to do something, under the mounting political pressures, and some very positive and powerful legislation resulted.

Linda Chavez-Thompson, one of the members of the President's Advisory Board on Race, captured, I think, the very essence of why other administrations shied away from this issue whenever possible. In a June 14th press conference to introduce the Advisory Board in San Diego, she said, "It is something that America oftentimes doesn't want to talk about -- you put it off, you don't want to discuss it because maybe you don't have the answer, maybe you're embarrassed by the fact that you don't have the answer."

As I see it, if we allow ourselves to be overshadowed by embarrassment we will never be able to understand the depth and breadth of the racial, ethnic, and gender problems facing this nation or our military. Without dialogue, it is virtually impossible to determine why we have disparities of wages, housing, education, or opportunity throughout society. We must be bold and admit that we don't have all the answers going in, but through open, honest, and constructive dialogue, and in cooperative spirit, perhaps we can gain the insight needed to develop solutions to bridge this egregious divide. There are too few venues in America such as the one we have this week where issues such as those that will be presented are openly and freely discussed so as to fully understand the problem and collectively share ideas for potential solutions.

Historically, our great nation has, since its birth, espoused to the oppressed of the world the ideals of Freedom, Land of Opportunity, and Land of Plenty. There is no denying the principals of our founding fathers set forth and captured in great historical documents and symbols of our country. Our Declaration of Independence asserts that we are all created equal. But, let me read to you the passage in its entirety: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness -- That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

We've all heard the debates on the issues of all men being created equal or inalienable rights. However, I contend that the key to this passage is deriving just powers from the consent of those governed. I don't know, nor do I think any of you do, of any individual on the face of this earth who would willingly consent to oppression, prejudice, inequality, or the like.

Our Constitution proclaims, "We the people of these United States, in order to form a more perfect union ..." A more perfect union? This document has mirrored the ideology of those who signed it in the irony of often conflicting and derisive legislation--among them, the enshrinement of slavery. Other laws have kept our house divided for more than a century after the bloody civil war to end slavery and preserve our Union. Our westward expansion in the name of freedom drove Native Americans from their land, desecrating their existence and culture in the process.

Then there are excerpts from the sonnet by Emma Lazarus immortalized at the base of the Statue of Liberty: "Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand a mighty woman with a torch, whose flame is the imprisoned lightning, and her name Mother of Exiles... Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door." In droves, and wave after wave they came to the golden door, searching for a new life,; a fresh start; escaping from political and economic oppression. And, our land welcomed them with open arms and immediately subjected them to prejudice, bigotry, and additional economic oppression.

Also, let's not forget a proclamation of sorts recited daily since 1892 in classrooms from sea to shining sea that goes like this: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." The sincerity of those words is convoluted by dichotomous policies and legislation enacted throughout our history. If, indeed, we were one nation, indivisible, and had liberty and justice for all, we'd not need such a bold initiative that promotes respect, encourages celebration of our differences, and encourages us to embrace commonalities.

At the height of the Cold War, we denounced the deplorable humanitarian conditions in the communist bloc countries of Europe, while their leaders scoffed at us because of headlines teeming with reports of race riots, protests, and civil rights marches. And still today, we have forces committed to enforcing peace in war-torn regions of ethnic cleansing, persecution, and oppression. Yet, at home, we see the devastating desecration of churches, synagogues, and mosques, as well as, hearing antilocution in chief executives' offices in corporate America. But I am proud to say that we could not ask for better ambassadors or emissaries for equality of opportunity than with our young men and women in uniform and Department of Defense civilians deployed and supporting these humanitarian missions.

Economically, One America is important to our continued stability and growth. As President Clinton pointed out in a speech to the graduating class at the University of San Diego last June, "With just a twentieth of the world's population, but a fifth of the world's income, we in

America simply have to sell to the other 95 percent of the world's consumers just to maintain our standard of living. Because we are drawn from every culture on earth, we are uniquely positioned to do it." He went on to urge all the American people to join in this great national effort to perfect the promise of America and to continue to build a more perfect union. He also said that now is the time that we should learn, talk, and act together to build this vision for the 21st Century. It is a time when there is more hope than fear and a time when we are not being driven by some social cataclysm that requires immediate action.

The President sees three imperatives in order for this initiative to succeed:

(1) First, he says, we must continue to expand opportunity. He sees us doing this by moving millions more from welfare to work; bringing the spark of enterprise to inner cities, and giving our youth the finest education in the world. His message is loud and clear in this area when he says, "...we must open the doors of college to all Americans and we must make at least two years of college as universal at the dawn of the next century as a high school diploma is today."

Earlier, you heard me talk a little about Affirmative Action. The President continues his effort not to let America discard this vital program and remains committed to fix the things that are wrong--and he is insistent that when used correctly, it has worked. And, as he so often does, to underscore the success of Affirmative Action, he enumerates the success--top to bottom--of our military. As he so emphatically stated in his San Diego speech, "So much for the argument that excellence and diversity do not go hand in hand."

(2) The second imperative of his vision is to demand responsibility from every American. Our strength, he says, derives from people taking responsibility for themselves and their families; teaching children good values; working hard and obeying the law; and giving back to those around us. Of those responsibilities, he points out that the most fundamental one is to obey the law. But, he says that respect for the law is a two-way street. He notes a shocking difference in perceptions of fairness of the criminal justice system based on the very real experiences that minorities have had with law enforcement officers.

(3) His final imperative is the one President Clinton believes will be the most difficult to achieve: Building an American community based on respect for one another and our shared values. He implores us to begin a candid conversation on the state of race relations today in order to understand the implications of Americans with such divergent backgrounds living and working together in the next century.

I think Dr. John Hope Franklin, Chairman of the President's Advisory Board on Race, summed up why this will be so difficult accomplish. He said in the San Diego press conference, "Hear me, hear me now: It's more than a slavery issue. It is the ideological underpinnings of slavery, the development in this country that stated categorically that Blacks were inferior, that they were physiologically and intellectually and ethically inferior. And the Emancipation Proclamation and the 13th Amendment could not end that...When you turned off slavery there still remained these very important salient features that had been ingrained into the American ethos,

that Blacks were not worthy.” He also went on to explain that those sentiments are still harbored in segments of our society still today.

The five goals of President Clinton’s initiative on race center on:

- (1) Articulate the President’s vision of racial reconciliation and a just and unified America.
- (2) Help educate the nation about the facts surrounding the issue of race.
- (3) Promote constructive dialogue.
- (4) Recruit and encourage leadership at all levels to help bridge racial divides. And,
- (5) Find, develop and implement solutions in the critical areas I mentioned under the three imperatives.

Sounds to me like you are well on the road to taking an active role in this vision by your attendance at this symposium and through the diligent work you have done and continue to do.

There are also four central elements to the President’s initiative:

- (1) The Advisory Board;
- (2) Significant Presidential events and actions, which includes the town hall meetings that are planned;
- (3) Outreach, consultation, and leadership to community leaders, elected state and local officials, members of Congress and business leaders; and,
- (4) The President’s report to the American people.

In concert with this national agenda item, the Department of Defense support for this initiative will be led by Undersecretary DeLeon. He has already met with the senior political appointees and DoD officials to focus attention on race and ethnic relations within the Department. Each of the Military Departments and other DoD Agencies have been asked to conduct specific activities that are good for our nation and for education and welfare of all our citizens and also serve to renew our commitment to the value of each military department. There are plans to establish a DoD youth task force of DoD representatives to support the President’s initiative on Race Youth working groups.

Several activities have already taken place since November, to include this message that I have brought to you today. Future plans call for two events to enhance the African Americans in Defense of Our Nation corridor in the Pentagon and the Worldwide Conference in July. There is an extensive web site about One America on the White House page listing all the activities and initiatives that have occurred or are planned to take place. I urge all of you to take a few minutes to visit the site and see all it has to offer.

Let me wrap this up with one last quote from the President’s commencement address: “More than 30 years ago, at the high tide of the civil rights movement, the Kerner Commission said we were becoming two Americas, one White, one Black, separate and unequal. Today, we face a different choice: Will we become not two, but many Americas...separate, unequal and isolated? Or will we draw strength from all our people and our ancient faith in the quality of the

human dignity, to become the world's first truly multiracial democracy. That is the unfinished work of our time, to lift the burden of race and redeem the promise of America.”

I leave you with my sincere best wishes for a most successful, inspirational, informative, and productive symposium. May what you share, discuss, and learn continue to lead the way in EO/EEO and human relations both for the Department of Defense and for bringing to fruition the vision of One America in the 21st Century. Thank you.

Welcome by Colonel Jose Bolton, Sr.
Commandant, DEOMI

Welcome and Administrative Announcements by Dr. Mickey R. Dansby
Director of Research, DEOMI

0945

Invited Speaker

Dr. Charles Moskos
Northwestern University

*Achieving Racial and Gender Equity in the Military:
Are They the Same?*¹

Abstract

The analogy between racial and gender equity is frequently drawn. The argument presented here is that these two issues are quite distinct and each deserves to be treated on its own terms. For our purpose here, racial minorities are synonymous with blacks. Some of the race/gender contrasts in the military are indicated below:

Race: (1) emphasis on black opportunity, (2) all ranks vulnerable, (3) same physical standards, (4) privacy not an issue, (5) officer-EM distinction less salient, (5) no fear of mentoring blacks, (6) zero tolerance for discrimination, and (7) civil rights agenda coterminous with concerns of minority soldiers.

¹ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

Gender: (1) emphasis on male attitudinal change, (2) enlisted ranks especially vulnerable, (3) different physical standards, (4) privacy an issue, (5) officer-EM distinction more salient, (6) fear of mentoring women, (6) zero tolerance of harassment too much, (7) feminist agenda not coterminous with concerns of female soldiers.

The presentation concluded with remarks on the sensitive issues of gender versus sexual harassment and the overlap of racial issues and sexual harassment.

[The following was provided by Dr. Moskos as a synopsis of his argument.]

To the surprise of many, the Pentagon advisory committee on gender issues last month [December 1997] recommended that men and women recruits live in separate barracks and operate in sexually segregated platoons during basic training. The panel's attention was primarily on the Army, inasmuch as the Marine Corps has never trained the sexes together, the Navy has a form of semi-segregated training, and the Air Force basic training is largely classroom education. The Army, moreover, is the service that has suffered most from sex scandals in training environments.

Yet, at the same time, it is the Army that is held up as a model for racial integration. During a televised town meeting in Akron [Ohio] last month [December, 1997], both President Clinton, a supporter of affirmative action, and Abigail Thernstrom, a writer who opposes racial preferences, pointed to the Army as one of the few success stories in black-and-white relations. Though the Army is by no means a racial utopia, nowhere else in American society has black achievement been so pronounced; it is one of the few places where whites are routinely bossed around by blacks.

If the Army has done so well in racial integration, why has it not succeeded as well with gender integration? The comparison of race and gender integration has become standard practice for advocates of bringing women into full participation in the armed forces, especially into combat units.

There are indeed similarities between race and gender equity in the Army. Both blacks and women are a minority of Army personnel (27 percent and 15 percent, respectively). Blacks served in segregated units until the early years of the Korean War; women served in all-female units in World War II and continued to do so until the mid-1970s. And, to be sure, some of the current arguments that gender integration undermines unit cohesion are similar to those used by opponents of racial desegregation in the late 1940s.

Perhaps even more telling, the road to the good race relations of today's Army has been a rocky one. The relatively smooth integration that occurred in the 1950s was followed by severe racial strife during the latter years of the Vietnam War and the early years of the all-volunteer force in the 1970s. Fights between blacks and whites were endemic, and on many military installations there were areas where members of the "wrong race" did not dare go. The race

problem was so acute that the Army appeared to be on the verge of self-destruction. That realization set in motion steps to expand opportunities for black advancement, including an affirmative action program that tries to avoid the stigma of preferences by demanding that applicants meet existing standards.

But these apparent similarities must not obscure the fact that the situations of blacks and women in the military are not comparable. Let us start with the most obvious. Between the races, physiological differences are not an issue, but between the sexes they are. All the talk of how modern warfare is high-tech and push-button is off the mark. Ground combat in any setting involves the most physically demanding endurance imaginable. Even in the Persian Gulf War, where the media highlighted the efficacy of stand-off weapons, large numbers of men were involved in physically grueling armored assaults. And, not to be overlooked, much of the work involved in logistics often requires sheer muscle power as well.

Efforts to hold women to the same physical standards as men are deluded. Rather than trying to raise female standards to abnormal levels, or lower standards for men, much better to admit the differences and be done with it. It is worth noting that surveys show that women soldiers are quite realistic on this score: 84 percent do not favor requiring the same physical standards for men and women. (The survey data mentioned here and later were collected by UCLA sociologist Laura Miller and me during the mid-1990s.)

The question of personal modesty points to another fundamental difference between race and gender. Whereas privacy within same-sex groups is not an issue, some level of privacy between sexes is a primary concern for virtually all military women (and many men, too). Nonchalant mixed-sex shower scenes in recent movies like “G.I. Jane” and “Starship Troopers” to the contrary, nearly all women and men said they prefer living apart during missions such as the ones the Army undertook in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia.

The military can be ruthless on racial discrimination, but “zero tolerance” for sexual harassment is a non-starter as there is no consensus—in either sex—on what constitutes petty harassment. One person’s compliment may be another person’s harassment. Likewise, whites usually do not fear mentoring blacks or vice versa, but a mentor relationship across the sexes can easily lead to innuendo and perceptions of sexual misconduct. This is because the chemistry of sexuality that operates between the sexes has no counterpart in relationships between heterosexuals of the same sex.

One other significant difference between race and gender integration must be mentioned. For blacks, the civil rights agenda is the same for both officers and enlisted personnel and for such organizations outside the military as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; equal opportunity for all ranks. There is not a comparable identity of views between women in the military and advocates of the feminist agenda.

Take the common assertion that the root cause of sexual harassment in the military derives from women not being allowed into the combat arms. This is so, the argument goes, because the resultant second-class status of female soldiers leads to their vulnerability to sexual harassment.

Such a viewpoint does not correspond with that of enlisted women, who make up some 85 percent of all female soldiers (half of the women are black). Rare is the enlisted woman who expresses a desire to enter the combat arms. But directly to the point, surveys show that only 2 percent of enlisted women believe sexual harassment would decrease if the combat arms were opened to women. In fact, 61 percent believe harassment would increase. (The rest thought it would not make much difference one way or the other.)

But if the proponents of putting women into combat units are at odds with enlisted women over the subject of sexual harassment, they are absolutely on target in another matter: Without women in the combat arms, there will never be a proportionate number of female generals. So, do we want more female generals or less sexual harassment? Just acknowledging this trade-off should help clear the air.

Even the staunchest traditionalist must admit that women bring special talents to the Army. As reported by a presidential commission, women soldiers tend to have higher aptitude scores, better work attitudes and fewer disciplinary problems than the men. The presence of women soldiers also was an important—if yet unrecognized—factor in the Army's exemplary performance in recent peacekeeping missions. It is now a matter of record that the behavior of American soldiers toward the local populace in Somalia was exemplary, compared with that of other armies, including Western ones. This welcome outcome was in no small part due to the Americans being the only mixed-gender force in Somalia. Female soldiers, that is, display a compassion found less frequently among men. Yet the very qualities that enhance the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions can be a hindrance in combat, where the worst instincts in soldiers must be aroused.

The main argument for the integration of women in the armed forces must be the same as it was for blacks: Does it make for a more effective military? The bottom line is that blacks and whites are essentially interchangeable soldiers. But when physical differences and privacy concerns matter—and they do—men and women are not.

Invited Speaker

Dr. John Sibley Butler
University of Texas

Sixty Years of Research on Providing Opportunities within the Military
and
Overcoming Race: Some Army Lessons for Society (with Charles Moskos)²
Abstract

In the first part of the presentation, the speaker addressed the historical context of research on military equal opportunity structure for African Americans, and how other cultural groups benefited from this research. The second part considered a thesis proffered in the book by Moskos and Butler, *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way*, which holds that the nation at large can learn a great deal from the Army's pragmatic approach to racial issues such as integration and affirmative action.

[The following was provided by Dr. Butler as a synopsis of his remarks.]

It is indeed a pleasure to speak with you about the impact of research on the creation of opportunities for Afro-Americans within the military. It is very important to stress the point, in this era of multiculturalism and life-style emphasis, the research relates to issues of Afro-Americans. There is no systematic comparative work for the military pertaining to other ethnic groups, either from Europe or Latin America. The research was done so that the military could better defend the country. Research on Afro-Americans in the military can be divided into the pure historical and more analytical social science research. While these traditions overlap, they appear in the literature as distinct research traditions. I should also add that most research was done on Afro-American men. It was not until Brenda Moore's groundbreaking work, *To Serve My Country to Serve My Race*, that the experiences of Afro-American women were detailed.³ But of course the women were segregated also; this means that the structural experiences of Afro-American men and women were the same, albeit different because of the military demands of men versus women in general.

² The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

³ Brenda L. Moore, *To Serve My Country To Serve My Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

Historical Research

Historical research is not concerned with relationships between variables or setting up experimental designs. It is designed to keep an excellent record of the experiences of Afro-Americans in the military. Sidney Kaplan's, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution: 1770-1800*, is an outstanding work which concentrates on original documents.⁴ In this work the reader is brought face to face with documents that inform us, for example, that prior to the Revolutionary War, Colonists were afraid of arming blacks to help fight Indians because slaves might become masters. We also learn that while the Confederate Military was exclusive when it came to Afro-American soldiers, they allowed them to serve as musicians (with military pay) in many camps. In short, we are allowed to look at all of the official documents assembled in the Smithsonian Institution which relate to Afro-Americans.⁵

Historical treatments of Afro-Americans in the military are extensive. In my course, *Military Sociology*, I introduce students to Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military*. Others include Morris MacGregor's, *Defense Studies: Integration of the Armed Forces*, and Lenwood G. Davis and George Hill's, *Blacks in the American Armed Forces, 1776-1983*.⁶ A great place to start one's reading in this area is Jack D. Foner's, *Blacks in the Military in American History*.⁷

Historical treatments of Afro-Americans in the Military are great because they show the long line of service for this population before the revolutionary war and provide insights into overall military life. An article by yours truly did an examination of historical works in search of patterns that could help explain Afro-American participation. The most obvious pattern was recruit, retain, and reject.⁸ Put differently, before a conflict Afro Americans were recruited (albeit at times with strain), utilized during the conflict or war, and rejected in masses after the war. The historical literature on Afro-Americans is massive, found in both journal articles and books, and has a long tradition.

In this era of comparative struggle, one might well ask about the treatment of other "minority" or "life-style" groups in America. One of the interesting historical facts is that Afro-Americans helped the original colonists fight against many of the groups that we consider "minority" today. Put more to the point, Afro-Americans are the only group in the country who have not fought against "Old Glory." Indians (or Native Americans), Mexicans (or Mexican Americans), Germans (or German Americans), Italians (or Italian Americans), and Japanese (or

⁴ Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution: 1770-1800* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1973).

⁵ Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

⁶ Morris MacGregor, *Defense Studies: Integration of the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1981) and Lenwood G. Davis and George Hill's *Blacks in the American Armed Forces, 1776-1983* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

⁷ Jack D. Foner, *Blacks in the Military in American History* (New York: Praeger, 1974).

⁸ See John Sibley Butler and Malcolm D. Holmes. "Changing Organizational Structure and the Future of Race Relations in the Military," in Conscripts and Volunteers: Military Requirements, Social Justice, and The All-Volunteer Force. Edited by Robert K. Fullinwider. (New York: Rowan and Littlefield): 167-177. 1982.

Japanese Americans) all serve in the military. When their histories are recreated, one has to take into consideration how long they have been in the country. Thus while it is certain that Americans fought against Native Americans and Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans were native to the country when we entered World War II. We should also add that white southerners also fought against “Old Glory” during the Civil War. Thus the reconstruction of the historical contribution of other ethnic and racial groups to the military can be very interesting.

Social Science and Relational Data

Riding astride historical research is the literature which seeks to look at relations between Afro-Americans and “Whites” in the military (historically whites also included Mexican-Americans, Native Americans, and Asian Americans) and the methods by which integration took place. There is also a concentration on the effects of an integrated force.

Perhaps the most celebrated study with an experimental design was done by Stouffer and his colleagues in *The American Soldier*. The chapter entitled “Negro Soldiers” was written by Shirley Star. I had the opportunity to meet with Mrs. Star in the early 1970s, when I was a research fellow at Human Sciences Research in Virginia. Mrs. Star was always gracious and full of knowledge about Afro-Americans during World War II.

Stouffer utilized a classical experimental design.⁹ After creating a standard scale designed to measure racial prejudice, they administered it to one-race units of both races. They found that soldiers in mixed units had more positive attitudes than those in one-race units. Researchers then used the contact hypothesis developed by Gordon Allport. It notes that the more contact different people have with each other (under equal conditions), then the less their negative attitudes.

Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Military, by Leo Bogart (edited) is an excellent source for understanding how research was utilized to enhance the overall mission of the military as Afro-American troops were utilized.¹⁰ Perhaps every American read Ernest Leiser’s 1952 *Saturday Evening Post*’s (December 13th) article entitled “For Negroes, It’s a New Army Now.” Charles C. Moskos’ work, *The American Enlisted Man*, brought all of the early research together and mixed it with the enlisted culture to show how the military became one of the most interesting and integrated organizations in America.

As social integration became a reality, a strong research tradition evolved which compared opportunity structures within the military to those outside of the military for Afro-Americans. A typical questionnaire on an instrument asked the following: Compared to your experiences within the civilian sector, do you perceive that the military provides more opportunity for advancement? From the very start, the finding was that Afro-Americans in the military perceive that the military is more equalitarian. The same general conclusion was reached for all four services. The data,

⁹ Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life, Vol. 1* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949).

¹⁰ Leo Bogart (edited), *Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Military* (Chicago: Markham, 1969)

early on, showed how far military institutions were ahead of civilian institutions in providing opportunities for Afro-Americans.¹¹

Although the questionnaire data established the fact that the military was providing opportunities, all of course was not perfect. In a paper appearing in *The American Sociological Review*, I showed how it took Afro-Americans longer to attain rank than their white counterparts, even after controlling for education and test scores. Perhaps the most interesting finding of that research was that both groups took more time to make rank if they scored high on the standardized test. I should also add that the military, at that time, was the only place in the country where such a study could take place. Other institutions simply did not have the numbers.

In the early 1970s, Peter Nordlie and Human Sciences Research carried out the largest collection of questionnaire data within the military since Stouffer's study (that was done in the 1940s). A world wide effort asked questions pertaining to racial equality, racial climate, reverse discrimination and job satisfaction. This study, by the way, lay the groundwork for the data collection that was done here at this institution (the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute).

Running parallel to the above research were those efforts that concentrated on the relationship between military service and civilian earnings. Beginning with World War I data, it was found that veterans of both racial groups earn more than their non-veteran counterparts. The only anomaly was that white veterans of the Vietnam era earned less than white veterans of the same war. The explanation was simple: white middle class veterans were less likely to serve their country than their white non-middle-class counterparts. The draft dodging effect was apparent in the data as those who refused to join took advantage of opportunities in the civilian sector.

The book by Charles Moskos and myself takes advantage of all of the historical data on Afro-Americans, both historical and sociological, that has appeared in the literature.

[The following slides were also provided by Dr. Butler.]

¹¹ For a review of this literature see John Sibley Butler and Malcolm D. Holmes. "Perceived Discrimination and the Military Experience," in *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 9 (spring): 17-30. 1981; Charles C. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971).

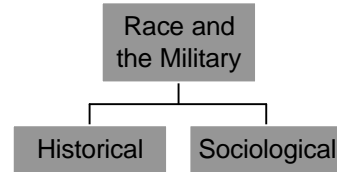


Race and the Military: A Tradition of Research

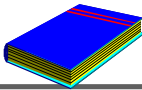
John Sibley Butler
The University of Texas, Austin

Military Research

A Tradition of Research

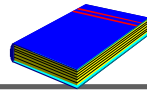


Historical Analysis



- Sidney Kaplan's *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution: 1770-1800* (Washington, DC.: Smithsonian Institute, 1973).
- Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: Free Press, 1986).
- MacGregor's *Defense Studies: Integration of the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC.: Center of Military History, 1981)
- Lenwood G. Davis and George Hill's *Blacks in the American Armed Forces, 1776-1983* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

Historical Analysis



- MacGregor's *Defense Studies: Integration of the Armed Forces* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1981) and Lenwood G. Davis and George Hill's *Blacks in the American Armed Forces, 1776-1983* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1985).
- Jack D. Foner's *Blacks in the Military in American History* (New York: Praeger, 1974).
- John Sibley Butler and Malcolm D. Holmes. "Changing Organizational Structure and the Future of Race Relations in the Military," in *Conscripts and Volunteers: Military Requirements, Social Justice, and The All-Volunteer Force*. Edited by Robert K. Fullinwider. (New York: Rowan and Littlefield): 167-177. 1982.

Sociological/Social Science Analysis



- Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life Vol. 1* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949).
- Leo Bogart (edited), *Social Research and the Desegregation of the United States Military* (Chicago: Markham, 1969)
- John Sibley Butler and Malcolm D. Holmes. "Perceived Discrimination and the Military Experience," in *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 9 (spring): 17-30. 1981.
- Charles C. Moskos, *The American Enlisted Man* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971).

Schools of Research

- Peter Nordlie and Human Sciences Research
- David Segal and Race and the Military (*Recruiting for Uncle Sam*)
- Alvin Schexnider and Racial Consciousness and the Military
- Morris Janowitz and overall theoretical contribution to study of military

Schools of Research

- The Texas Group (Browning, Poston, Lopreato on influence of veterans status on civilian income)
- The Nordlie Group (Human Sciences Research) Measures of prejudice, discrimination, reverse discrimination, racial climate

The Moskos Theoretical Model Institutional/Occupational

- Separation of Workplace and Residence=Less Contact
- Less Contact means that Race Relations have a probability of resembling Race Relations in Civilian Society (Not in terms of numbers)



OVERCOMING RACE:

Army Lessons for American
Society

Charles C. Moskos
John Sibley Butler

Lessons for Research on Non- Afro-American Groups?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ■ Blacks and Whites will not view opportunities the same | ■ Increase blacks in high positions |
| ■ Focus on Black opportunity, not white racist (same for gender) | ■ Supply side affirmative action |
| ■ Ruthless against discrimination | ■ Affirmative action linked to qualified pool |
| | ■ Level playing field not enough |

Lessons

- | | |
|--|--|
| ■ Supply side affirmative action focus on Afro-Americans | ■ Enhancing black participation is good for organizational effectiveness |
| ■ Afro-Anglo Culture is core American culture | |

Comments on Gender in the Military

- Most important issue facing military today (full participation in the military)
- Contact hypothesis has been tested for male/females with mixed results
- Juanita Firestone's research (National Journal of Sociology) on race and sexual Harassment
- Brenda Moore's *To Serve My Country to Serve my Race*

Comments on Gender in the Military

- Laura Miller's work of Feminism and the Exclusion of Women from Combat
- The Mady Segal School of Women in the Military

1330

Paper Session A

EO Climate in the Military

The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS): An Update¹²

M. R. Dansby

Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

Abstract

This paper presents results from the MEOCS for 1995-1997. Descriptive statistics and numerous demographic subgroup comparisons are presented. The results confirm previous studies indicating generally positive views of the equal opportunity climate in the military, with less favorable perceptions by minority group members and women when compared to white males' views. Implications for military leaders are discussed.

Fostering positive human relations is a key concern in military organizations. Without mutual respect and recognition of each person's dignity and contributions to the organization, it is difficult to develop a cohesive, smoothly functioning team. The DoD Human Goals emphasize the "infinite dignity and worth" of each individual in the service, and military commanders generally acknowledge the need for a positive human relations climate in order for their units to function effectively.

¹² The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

For several years, equal opportunity climate (EOC) has been a major consideration for military researchers interested in human relations climate issues. Two major sources of EOC research are the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) and the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center (NPRDC). The work of each institution has been documented in numerous articles and technical reports (for the DEOMI program, see Dansby & Landis, 1991; Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993; Dansby, 1995; Landis, Dansby, & Tallarigo, 1996; and the summary in Knouse, 1996a; for information on the NPRDC effort, see Rosenfeld, Thomas, Edwards, Thomas, & Thomas, 1991; Culbertson & Rosenfeld, 1993; Rosenfeld & Culbertson, 1993; Rosenfeld & Edwards, 1994; and Newell, Rosenfeld, & Culbertson, 1995).

The NPRDC's extensive EO climate program includes both the Navy and the Marine Corps. The Navy assessed EO climate as part of its Human Resources Management organizational survey program as far back as 1975 (Rosenfeld & Edwards, 1994). There were also efforts to measure race relations in the Navy during the 1970s (Rosenfeld et al., 1991) that were similar to the Army's efforts at ARI (Thomas, 1988). The current NPRDC program involves measurement at two levels: the Command Assessment Team Survey System (CATSYS), at the individual unit level, and service-wide probability sample surveys (the Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment Survey [NEOSH] and the Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey [MCEOS]) (Rosenfeld & Edwards, 1994; Newell et al., 1995; Thomas & Le, 1996).

The NEOSH (or MCEOS) is composed of nine modules, addressing a number of areas where discrimination might occur. The modules include: assignments, training, leadership, communications, interpersonal relations, grievances, discipline, performance evaluation, and Navy satisfaction (Rosenfeld, Culbertson, Booth-Kewley, & Magnusson, 1992). Results on each module are compared by demographic group, much as DEOMI's Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) results are compared by group for MEOCS scale scores.

At DEOMI, most EO climate research involves the MEOCS or its various derivatives (i.e., the small unit, equal employment opportunity, senior leader, and short versions). The MEOCS is an organizational development survey and analysis service provided free to military commanders at all levels to help them assess EO and organizational effectiveness (OE) within their units and plan strategies to improve the organizational climate. There are four EO climate sections in the MEOCS: perceptions of unit EO behaviors, OE perceptions, general EO perceptions (i.e., in the total context and not just unit conditions), and a global measure called *Overall EO Climate*. Issues addressed include race/gender discrimination, racist/sexist behaviors, sexual harassment, positive EO behaviors, the so-called "reverse" discrimination, desire for racial separatism, job satisfaction, commitment to the organization, and perceptions of work group effectiveness (Dansby, 1994a). Commanders voluntarily request MEOCS for their units, and DEOMI keeps unit results confidential. After a commander receives his or her report, identifying information is stripped from the unit's data and the data are added to an overall database used for comparison and research purposes (i.e., to allow each command to benchmark their results with their service's results and those from all services). In addition, occasional probability samples are gathered across entire services to compare results to the overall unit database results. Since the program began in June of 1990, almost 5,000 units have participated and a database of over 600,000 respondents has been accumulated.

Results from the MEOCS have demonstrated several consistent patterns. Although most demographic subgroups rate the EO climate as “average” or better for their organizations, the perceptions vary by group. In general, the most favorable climate ratings are from majority men, and the least favorable are from minority women (Dansby, 1994a; Moskos & Butler, 1996). More specifically, the most favorable ratings are from majority officer men and the least favorable are from minority officer women (Dansby, 1994a). (In a recent article, Dansby & Landis, in press, present evidence that one contributing factor to minority officer women’s lower ratings is smaller representation, compared to minority enlisted women, in units.) Results from the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (Dansby, 1996; a version of MEOCS developed for the general/admiral/Senior Executive Service level) and from the other MEOCS versions indicate that high ranking white men have the most favorable ratings of all.

The MEOCS database has been the source of many empirical studies on diversity issues, including the relationship between EO climate and Total Quality Management (Knouse, 1994b, 1996b), group cohesiveness and performance (Niebuhr, Knouse, Dansby, & Niebuhr, 1996), career commitment (Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1994), demographic representation within the organization (Dansby & Landis, in press), organizational characteristics (Tallarigo & Landis, 1995), and acceptance of diversity (Niebuhr, 1994). In addition, the MEOCS program has inspired numerous studies on EO climate survey development and improvement (e.g., Dansby & Landis, 1991; Landis et al., 1993; Dansby, 1994b; Niebuhr, 1994; Albright & McIntyre, 1995; McIntyre, 1995; Dansby, 1996; McIntyre, Albright, & Dansby, 1996).

For the most part, results of the NPRDC EO climate program are very similar to those for the MEOCS. Newell et al. (1995) summarize the EO results of the 1991 NEOSH as follows:

1) Navy personnel generally had positive EO climate perceptions; 2) men had more positive EO climate perceptions than women; 3) White male officers had the most positive EO climate perceptions, African-Americans, particularly African-American women had the least positive perceptions; and 4) Hispanics’ EO perceptions typically fell between those of Whites and African-Americans and most often were closer to the perceptions of Whites. (p. 160)

The close correspondence between results from NEOSH and MEOCS, which use different instruments and methodologies, supports the construct validity of the two surveys and increases confidence in the findings.

In order to keep senior leaders apprised of EOC issues in the military, DEOMI prepares periodic reports on MEOCS findings. The purpose of the present paper is to provide a similar update for active duty military survey results.

Method

All data gathered from military members in active-duty units between January 1995 and September 1997 were selected from the primary MEOCS database. Table 1 shows the numbers of individuals, by service, included in the selection. Because all services do not participate equally in the MEOCS program, the data were weighted for service population. Also, because minority group members and women are somewhat overrepresented in the database (due to overselection in stratified sampling, among other things), the data are weighted for minority group and women's representation within service. Table 2 compares the MEOCS database representation to service demographics for the period covered.

Table 1
Active Duty Respondents to MEOCS (1/95 to 9/97), by Service

<i>Service</i>	Total N	Minority N	Women N	Officer N
Air Force	24,789	8,699	4,346	5,112
Army	87,986	40,363	13,455	14,482
Coast Guard	5,641	1,928	730	1,525
Marine Corps	31,496	13,012	2,575	3,836
Navy	20,908	8,720	3,043	5,069
Not Identified	2,934	2,002	8,159	0

Though MEOCS measures 12 equal opportunity and organizational effectiveness factors, for brevity's sake only selected factor scales are included in the present analysis. Those factors included are:

- ***Overall EO Climate***, a global measure of how the respondent views EO within the unit of assignment. It reflects the respondent's rating of the EO climate on a scale ranging from *1=very poor* to *5=very good*.
- ***Sexual Harassment and (Sex) Discrimination***, perceptions of how extensively sexual harassment and discrimination against women are thought to occur within the respondent's unit. The factor is rated on a scale representing the respondent's *estimation* that sexually harassing or discriminating actions have taken place in the unit within the last 30 days and ranging from *1=there is a very high chance that the action occurred* to *5=there is almost no chance that the action occurred*.
- ***"Reverse" Discrimination (I)***, a measure of the extent to which so-called "reverse" discrimination occurs within the unit. The same scale is used as for the previous factor.

Based on prior indications of meaningful differences among the various groups, descriptive statistics for these three factor scales were computed along a number of demographic

dimensions. These dimensions included *Race* (minority/majority) X *Personnel Status* (officer/enlisted) X *Gender* (male/female); *Year of Administration* (1995/1996/1997); and *Organizational Mission* (combat/combat support/combat service support). In addition, separate

Table 2
Comparison of MEOCS Database and Service Representation

Service <i>Group (within Service)</i>	Proportion within MEOCS Database (1/95-9/97)	Proportion within Armed Forces (within Service) (9/96)
Air Force Total	0.18	0.26
<i>Minority</i>	<i>0.36</i>	<i>0.23</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>0.18</i>	<i>0.17</i>
<i>Officer</i>	<i>0.21</i>	<i>0.20</i>
Army Total	0.54	0.33
<i>Minority</i>	<i>0.46</i>	<i>0.39</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.14</i>
<i>Officer</i>	<i>0.17</i>	<i>0.17</i>
Coast Guard Total	0.03	0.02
<i>Minority</i>	<i>0.35</i>	<i>0.17</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>0.14</i>	<i>0.09</i>
<i>Officer</i>	<i>0.27</i>	<i>0.21</i>
Marine Corps Total	0.14	0.12
<i>Minority</i>	<i>0.42</i>	<i>0.30</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>0.05</i>
<i>Officer</i>	<i>0.12</i>	<i>0.10</i>
Navy Total	0.10	0.28
<i>Minority</i>	<i>0.42</i>	<i>0.31</i>
<i>Women</i>	<i>0.16</i>	<i>0.12</i>
<i>Officer</i>	<i>0.24</i>	<i>0.14</i>

subgroup analyses for officers and enlisted were conducted using *Race* (minority/majority) and *Grade* (for officers: O1-O2/O3/O4/O5/O6+; and for enlisted: E1-3/E4-5/E6/E7/E8-9) as factors. A similar analysis was conducted using *Gender* (male/female) and *Grade*. Finally, cross-tabulation was used to examine distributions of responses by minority/majority and women/men to the item, "I personally would rate the equal opportunity climate in this organization..." which uses the same response scale as the Overall EO Climate scale.

Results

All results reflect weighted statistics, as described previously. Table 3 presents descriptive statistics for the *Race X Personnel Status X Gender* groups. Figure 1 graphs the means from Table 3. As may be seen, the extreme groups are generally minority officer women (least favorable scores) and majority officer men (most favorable scores). Tables 4 and 5 depict factor

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics by Group

FACTOR (Group)	Mean	n	Standard Error	Kurtosis	Skew
SEXUAL HARASSMENT & (SEX) DISCRIMINATION	3.995	179,463	.002	-.151	-.739
<i>Minority Officer Women</i>	3.389	862	.035	-.846	-.109
<i>Minority Officer Men</i>	3.730	3,404	.017	-.891	-.362
<i>Minority Enlisted Women</i>	3.744	8,409	.010	-.519	-.490
<i>Minority Enlisted Men</i>	3.900	41,141	.004	-.412	-.585
<i>Majority Officer Women</i>	3.993	2,656	.017	.355	-.948
<i>Majority Officer Men</i>	4.330	19,589	.005	1.402	-1.246
<i>Majority Enlisted Women</i>	3.858	9,635	.009	-.217	-.690
<i>Majority Enlisted Men</i>	4.075	84,298	.003	.118	-.838
“REVERSE” DISCRIMINATION	3.890	179,707	.002	.075	-.677
<i>Minority Officer Women</i>	3.514	862	.033	-.699	-.325
<i>Minority Officer Men</i>	3.690	3,406	.015	-.552	-.442
<i>Minority Enlisted Women</i>	3.981	8,411	.008	.338	-.769
<i>Minority Enlisted Men</i>	3.856	41,217	.004	-.034	-.537
<i>Majority Officer Women</i>	4.206	2,655	.012	1.463	-1.049
<i>Majority Officer Men</i>	4.125	19,607	.005	1.325	-1.096
<i>Majority Enlisted Women</i>	4.062	9,635	.008	.416	-.821
<i>Majority Enlisted Men</i>	3.868	84,429	.003	.083	-.693
OVERALL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE	3.407	179,238	.002	-.330	-.221
<i>Minority Officer Women</i>	2.667	855	.041	-.891	.309
<i>Minority Officer Men</i>	3.165	3,393	.020	-.901	-.057
<i>Minority Enlisted Women</i>	2.947	8,397	.011	-.045	-.013
<i>Minority Enlisted Men</i>	3.095	41,152	.005	-.129	-.104
<i>Majority Officer Women</i>	3.827	2,662	.018	.019	-.551
<i>Majority Officer Men</i>	4.150	19,644	.006	.669	-.952
<i>Majority Enlisted Women</i>	3.366	9,617	.010	-.125	-.138
<i>Majority Enlisted Men</i>	3.484	84,353	.003	-.151	-.247

Figure 1: Means from Table 3.

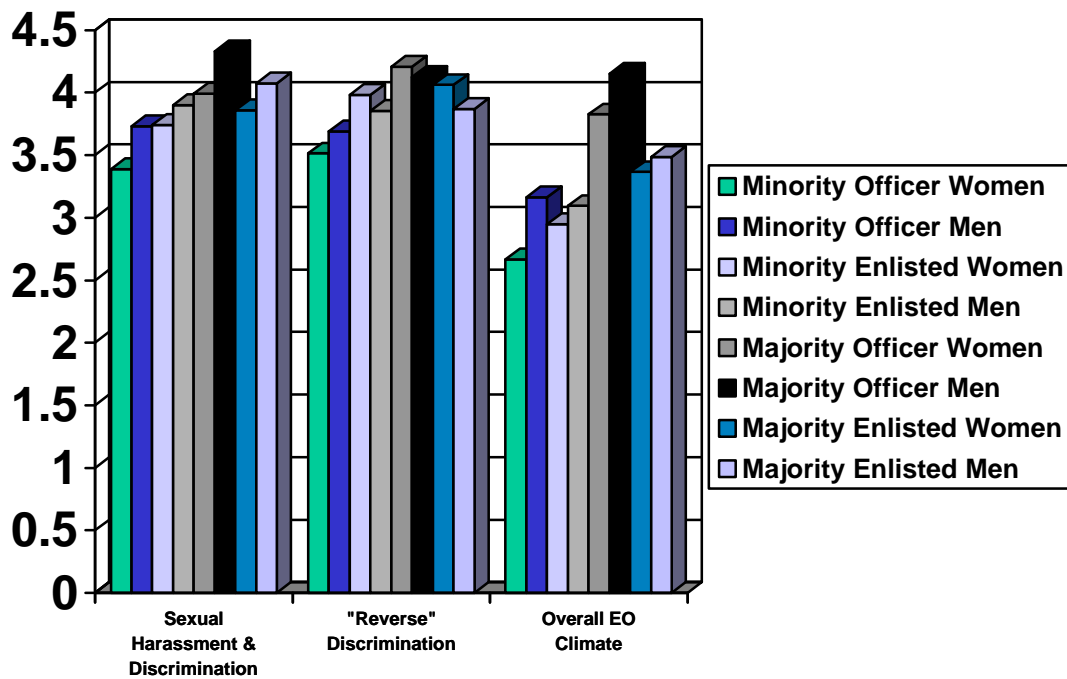


Table 4
Descriptive Statistics by Year of Administration

FACTOR (Year)	Mean	n	Standard Error	Kurtosis	Skew
SEXUAL HARASSMENT & (SEX) DISCRIMINATION	3.995	179,463	.002	-.151	-.739
1995	3.970	69,119	.003	-.205	-.701
1996	4.047	71,177	.003	.063	-.836
1997 (through 9/97)	3.945	39,167	.004	-.365	-.638
"REVERSE" DISCRIMINATION	3.890	179,707	.002	.075	-.677
1995	3.873	69,156	.003	.028	-.331
1996	3.922	71,279	.003	.195	-.773
1997 (through 9/97)	3.861	39,271	.004	-.030	-.624
OVERALL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE	3.407	179,238	.002	-.330	-.221
1995	3.416	69,067	.004	-.331	-.230
1996	3.418	71,043	.004	-.337	-.231
1997 (through 9/97)	3.370	39,128	.005	-.310	-.187

scale scores by year and organizational mission. Tables 6-9 show scores for officers and enlisted members by grade and race or gender; Figures 2-5 graph the corresponding means.

Table 5
Descriptive Statistics by Organizational Mission

FACTOR <i>(Mission)</i>	Mean	n	Standard Error	Kurtosis	Skew
SEXUAL HARASSMENT & (SEX) DISCRIMINATION	3.995	179,463	.002	-.151	-.739
<i>Combat</i>	3.950	53,626	.004	-.377	-.642
<i>Combat Support</i>	3.931	40,882	.004	-.255	-.654
<i>Combat Service Support</i>	4.055	84,860	.003	.097	-.847
“REVERSE” DISCRIMINATION	3.890	179,707	.002	.075	-.677
<i>Combat</i>	3.857	53,814	.003	-.021	-.618
<i>Combat Support</i>	3.835	40,899	.004	.021	-.633
<i>Combat Service Support</i>	3.937	84,899	.003	.186	-.739
OVERALL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE	3.407	179,238	.002	-.330	-.221
<i>Combat</i>	3.280	53,587	.004	-.286	-.162
<i>Combat Support</i>	3.367	40,811	.005	-.264	-.189
<i>Combat Service Support</i>	3.506	84,745	.004	-.360	-.280

Figure 2: Means from Table 4.

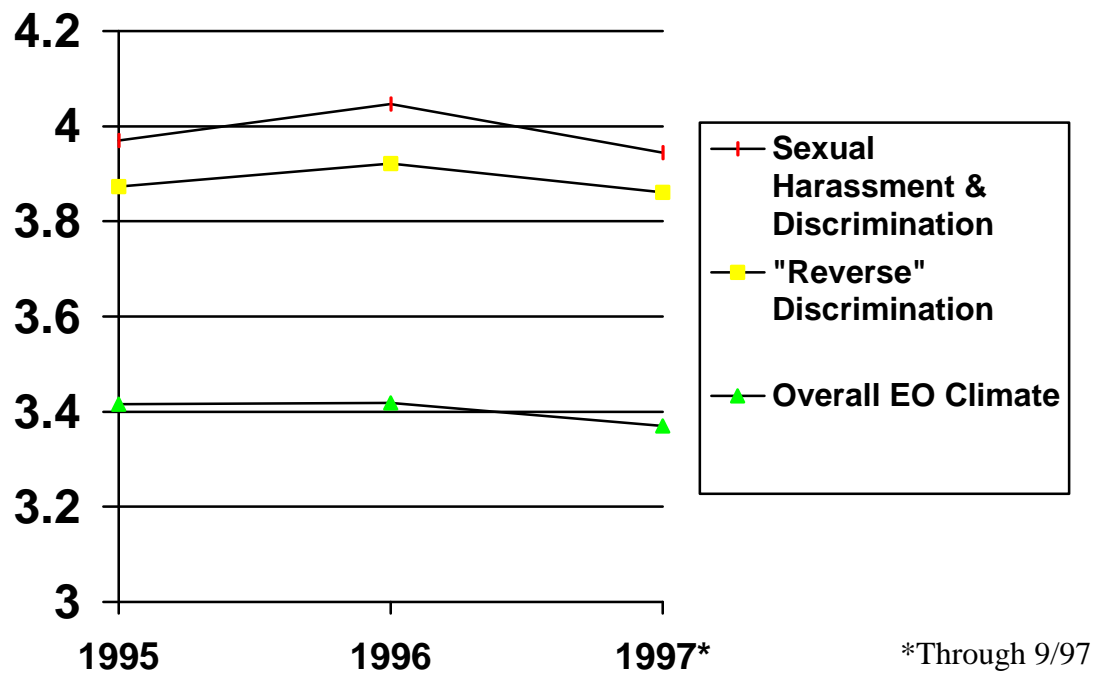
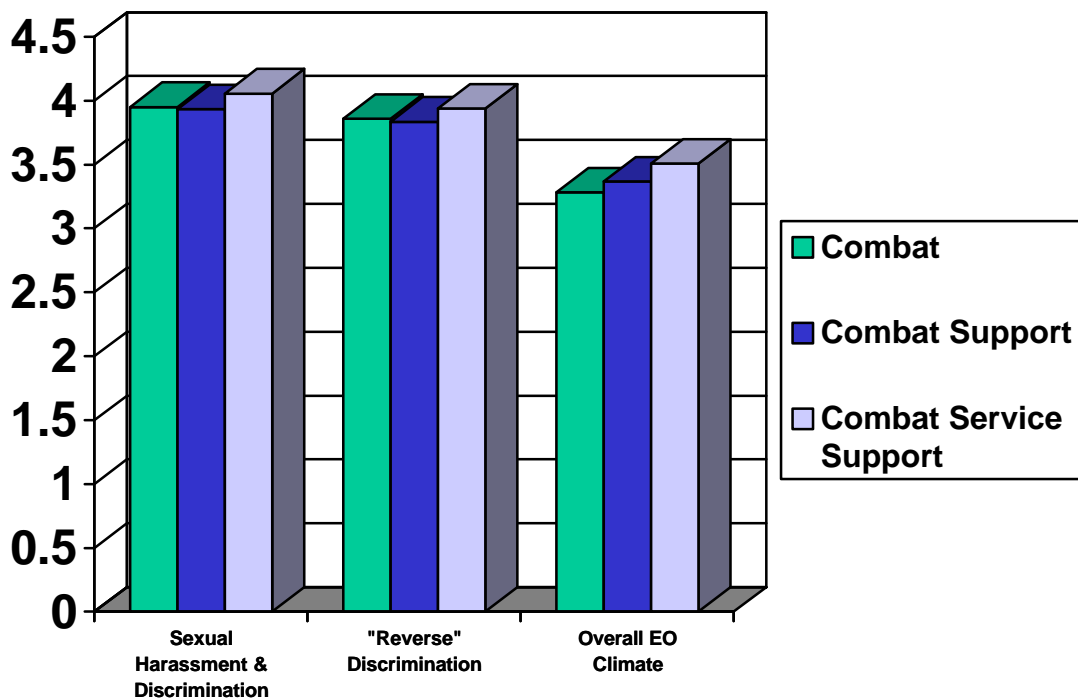
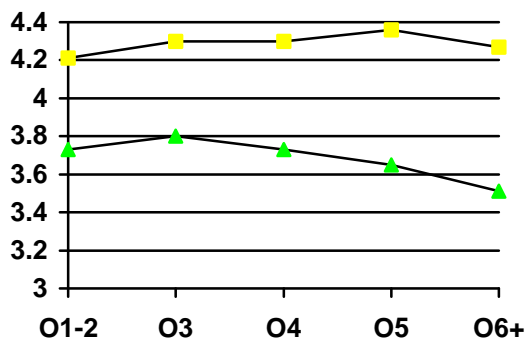


Figure 3: Means from Table 5.

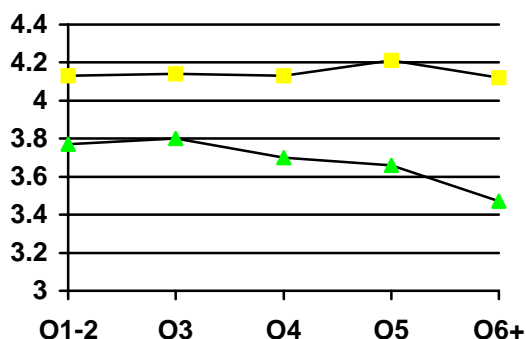


Figures 4-7 present the scores by officer or enlisted grade by race and gender. To conserve space, detailed descriptive statistics are not presented for these scores. They are available from the author, however.

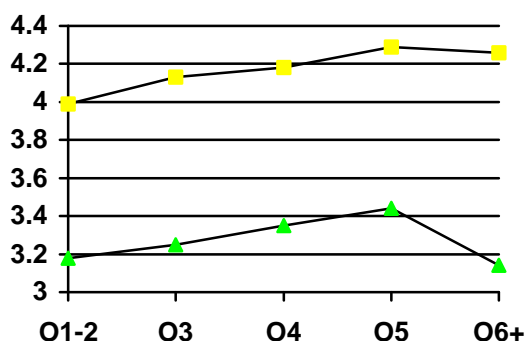
Figure 4: Scores by Officer Grade and Race



Sexual Harassment & Discrimination

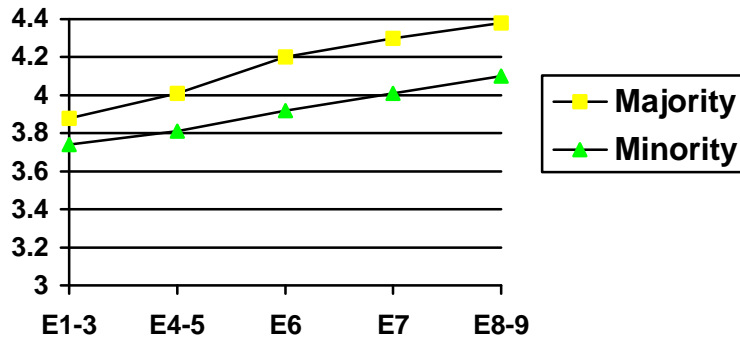


“Reverse” Discrimination

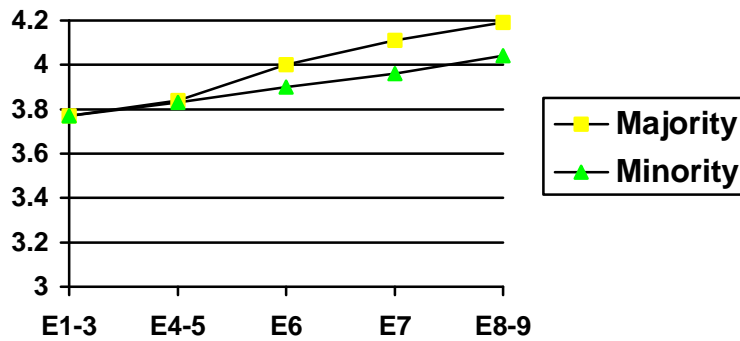


Overall EO Climate

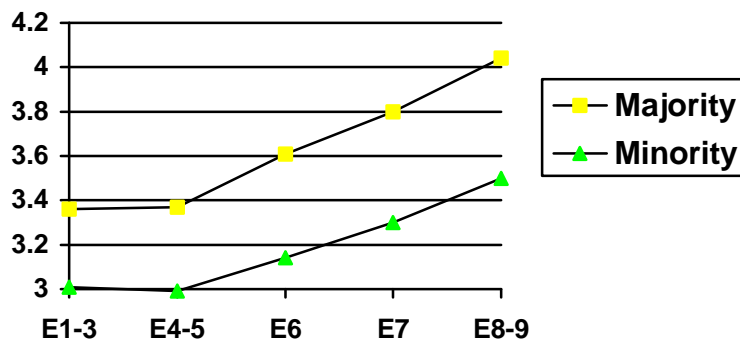
Figure 5: Scores by Enlisted Grade and Race



Sexual Harassment & Discrimination

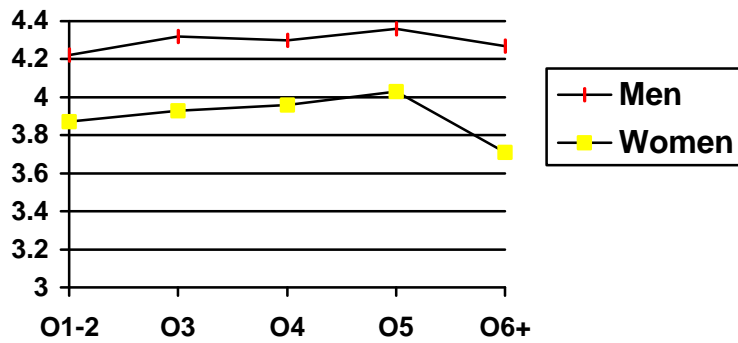


“Reverse” Discrimination

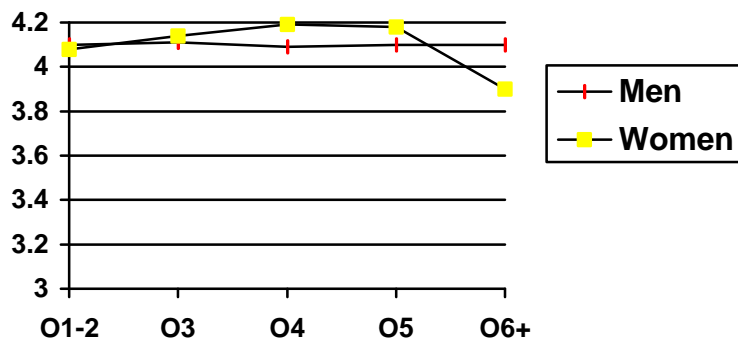


Overall EO Climate

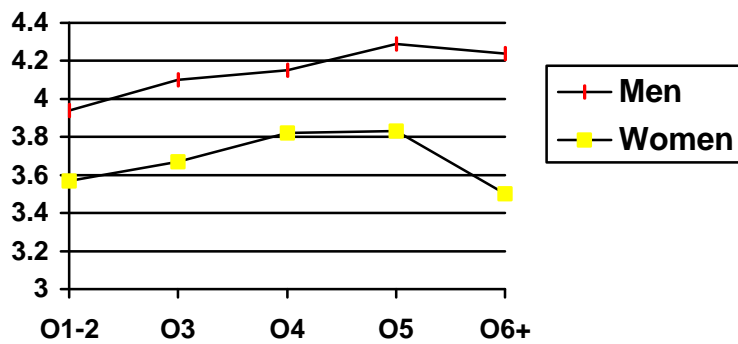
Figure 6: Scores by Officer Grade and Gender



Sexual Harassment & Discrimination

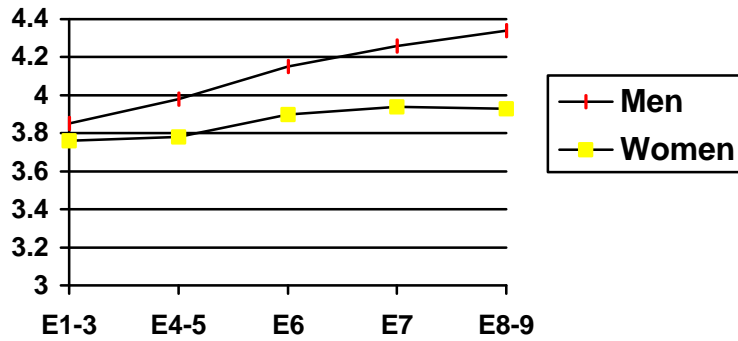


“Reverse” Discrimination

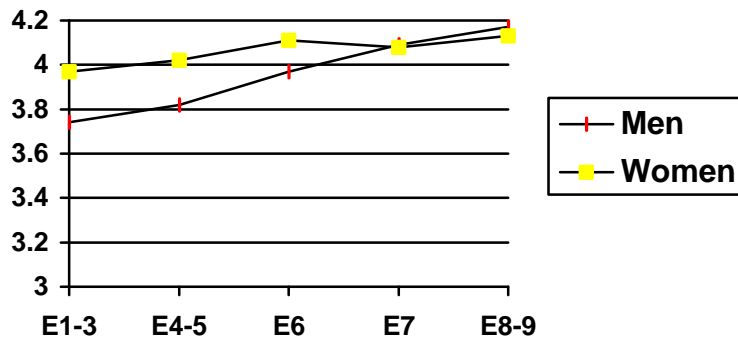


Overall EO Climate

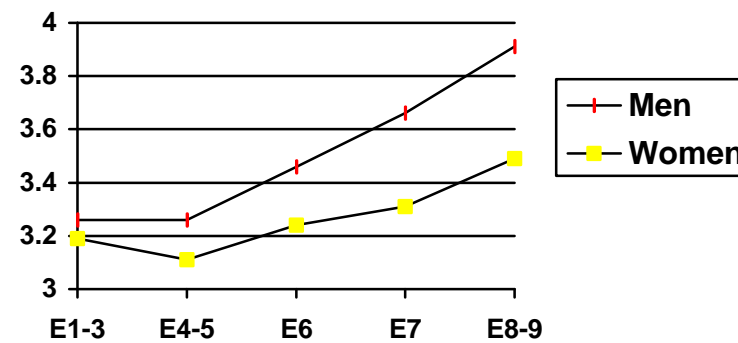
Figure 7: Scores by Enlisted Grade and Gender



Sexual Harassment & Discrimination



“Reverse” Discrimination



Overall EO Climate

Table 6 shows a cross-tabulation of responses to the item, “I personally would rate the equal opportunity climate in this organization...,” by minority/majority status and by gender.

Table 6
Responses to “I personally would rate the equal opportunity climate in this organization”
(% by group)

Rating	Minority	Majority	Women	Men
Very Poor	9.5	4.3	7.9	5.7
Poor	16.4	7.4	13.0	9.3
About Average	42.6	35.9	41.6	37.9
Good	20.8	28.0	22.9	26.2
Very Good	10.6	24.4	14.6	20.9

Discussion

The reader may have observed the lack of inferential statistics in this report. Due to the large size of the database, such statistical tests are moot. Even minor score differences are “statistically significant” at conventional levels (even when alphas are adjusted for multiple comparisons). Our experience in the field indicates that a difference between groups of about .2 scale points is large enough to be validated through other indicators (i.e., interviews, organizational records, observations, etc.). (For the interested reader, inferential statistics--MANOVA and Chi-Square analyses and size of effect statistics--are available from the author.) Instead, the results were examined for obvious trends and patterns.

The present results confirm previously reported MEOCS results. It is clear that there are differences in perceptions of EO climate in the military based on race, gender, and officer/enlisted groupings. As Table 3 and Figure 1 indicate, minority members, women, and enlisted members have less favorable perceptions than their corresponding contrast groups (majority members, men, and officers) on all three EO scores. Minority officer women have the least favorable perceptions on all three scores; majority officer men have the most favorable on two of three and are second most favorable on the other. With the exception of minority officer women, all groups rate the Overall EO Climate as average or above. This pattern indicates most military members perceive the EO climate as generally acceptable, but that some see a need for improvement.

The fact that majority officer men (who are numerically dominant in senior leadership positions) are least likely to recognize EO concerns could be a problem. If senior leaders believe there are no EO concerns, especially along racial dimensions, they are less likely to take action to correct problems that may be present. Since over a quarter of the minority personnel and a fifth of the women rate the Overall EO Climate as “poor” or “very poor,” there is still work to be done.

There is nothing remarkable about the EO trends for 1995-1997 (Table 4 and Figure 2). Although there is a slight decline in all three scores for 1997, scores within factors across these years are less than .1 scale point apart. Part of this difference may be due to incomplete data for 1997 (the 1997 data only go through September). The small difference observed is not considered meaningful unless the downward trend continues.

It is interesting that the most favorable EO climate is in the combat service support organizations (Table 5 and Figure 3). These units generally serve farthest from direct combat. They also contain the highest proportion of minority group members and women. It should be noted that no data were gathered under actual combat conditions, so the impact on EOC of actually being in combat is not known. Nonetheless, commanders of combat and combat support organizations may do well to note that the climate may be perceived as less favorable in their units.

Some clear distinctions emerge in comparing officer and enlisted patterns by race and gender over grades (Figures 4-7). The difference between enlisted and officer responses is striking. For enlisted members, though minority members and women rate the climate lower than majority members and men, respectively, there is a fairly uniform increase in favorability of ratings as grade increases. However, the pattern is more complex for officers. While majority officers begin with high ratings at O1-2, and the ratings remain high or increase as grade increases, minority officer ratings decline at the higher grades. Similarly, for male officers, scores start high and may go higher as grade increases. Women officers, on the other hand, generally have less favorable perceptions than their male counterparts (except for "Reverse" Discrimination, where their scores are generally similar to the men's), and there is a marked decrease in favorability of perceptions for women O-6 (i.e., colonel or Navy/Coast Guard captain) and above. These patterns are consistent with the often discussed "glass ceiling" effect for women and minorities.

While the data summarized in the present study indicate generally favorable ratings of the EO climate in the military, there is evidence that minority groups and women, especially minority officer women, perceive some concerns. Further research (cf. Dansby & Landis, in press) is needed to determine the factors leading to these patterns of response. However, from an operational level, senior leaders of military units would be wise to conduct climate analyses in their own organizations to determine whether there are similar concerns expressed at the unit level, and, if there are, what can be done to ameliorate the concerns.

References

- Albright, R. R., & McIntyre, R. M. (1995). *Measuring equal opportunity climate in small units: Development of scales to evaluate the acceptance of diversity* (DEOMI RSP 95-10). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Culbertson, A. L., & Rosenfeld, P. (1993). Understanding sexual harassment through organizational surveys. In P. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, and M. D. Thomas (Eds.), *Improving Organizational Surveys* (pp. 164-187). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- Dansby, M. R. (1994a, December). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS). Presentation to the Equal Opportunity Research Symposium, Cocoa Beach, FL.
- Dansby, M. R. (1994b). Revising the MEOCS: A methodology for updating the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey. *Proceedings, Applied Behavioral Sciences 14th Symposium* (pp. 59-64). Colorado Springs, CO: USAF Academy.
- Dansby, M. R. (1995). *Using Military Equal Opportunity Climate Surveys for organizational development* (DEOMI RSP 95-11). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Dansby, M. R. (1996). The Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: What do the bosses believe? *Proceedings, Applied Behavioral Sciences 15th Symposium* (pp. 310-316). Colorado Springs, CO: USAF Academy.
- Dansby, M. R., & Landis, D. (1991). Measuring equal opportunity climate in the military environment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 389-405.
- Dansby, M. R., & Landis, D. (in press). Race, gender, and representation index as predictors of equal opportunity climate in military organizations. *Military Psychology*.
- Knouse, S. B. (1994b). *Equal opportunity climate and Total Quality Management: A preliminary study* (DEOMI RSP 94-3). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Knouse, S. B. (1996a). *Recent diversity research at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI): 1992-1996* (DEOMI RSP 96-14). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Knouse, S. B. (1996b). *Diversity, organizational factors, group effectiveness, and total quality: An analysis of relationships in the MEOCS-EEO test version 3.1* (DEOMI RSP 96-6). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., & Faley, R. H. (1993). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An example of surveying in organizations. In P. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, and M. D. Thomas (Eds.), *Improving Organizational Surveys*. (pp. 210-239). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., & Faley, R. H. (1994). The relationship of equal opportunity climate to military career commitment: An analysis of individual differences using latent variables. *Proceedings, Applied Behavioral Sciences 14th Symposium* (pp. 65-70). Colorado Springs, CO: USAF Academy.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., & Tallarigo, R. S. (1996). The use of equal opportunity climate in intercultural training. In D. Landis & R. S. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of Intercultural Training, Second Edition* (pp. 244-263). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McIntyre, R. M. (1995). *Examination of the psychometric properties of the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: Equal opportunity perceptions* (DEOMI RSP 95-6). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

- McIntyre, R. M., Albright, R. R., & Dansby, M. R. (1996). *The development and construct validation of the Small Unit Equal Opportunity Climate Survey* (DEOMI RSP 96-8). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Moskos, C. C., & Butler, J. S. (1996). *All that we can be: Black leadership and racial integration in the Army*. New York: Basic Books.
- Newell, C. E., Rosenfeld, P., & Culbertson, A. L. (1995). Sexual harassment experiences and equal opportunity perceptions of Navy women. *Sex Roles*, 32, 159-168.
- Niebuhr, R. E. (1994). *Measuring equal opportunity climate in organizations: Development of scales to evaluate the acceptance of diversity* (DEOMI RSP 94-5). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Niebuhr, R. E., Knouse, S. B., Dansby, M. R., & Niebuhr, K. E. (1996). The relationship between racism/sexism and group cohesiveness and performance. *Proceedings, Applied Behavioral Sciences 15th Symposium* (pp. 322-327). Colorado Springs, CO: USAF Academy.
- Rosenfeld, P., & Culbertson, A. L. (1993, August). Assessing equal opportunity climate: Integrating Navy-wide and command-level approaches. Paper presented at the 101st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.
- Rosenfeld, P., & Edwards, J. E. (1994, September). Automated system assesses equal opportunity. *Personnel Journal*, 99-101.
- Rosenfeld, P., Culbertson, A. L., Booth-Kewley, S., & Magnusson, P. (1992). *Assessment of equal opportunity climate: Results of the 1989 Navy-wide survey* (NPRDC TR-92-14). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.
- Rosenfeld, P., Thomas, M. D., Edwards, J. E., Thomas, P. J., & Thomas, E. D. (1991). Navy research into race, ethnicity, and gender issues: A historical review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 407-426.
- Tallarigo, R. S., & Landis, D. (1995). *Organizational distance scaling: Exploring climates across organizations* (DEOMI RSP 95-13). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Thomas, J. A. (1988). *Race relations research in the U.S. Army in the 1970s: A collection of selected readings*. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Thomas, P. J., & Le, S. K. (1996). *Sexual harassment in the Marine Corps: Results of a 1994 survey* (NPRDC TN-96-44). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.

***Different Worlds: A Status Group Point of View
Approach to Equal Opportunity Climate¹³***

Miles Simpson
North Carolina Central University

Abstract

This paper examines the views of gender, rank, and majority/minority groups in their responses to MEOCS. A status group point of view factor analysis was developed to examine the impact of group membership on EO climate. The method takes into consideration multiple membership such as female/minority/ officer. Results of the factor analysis are presented and the implications of this methodology are discussed.

In their landmark work, *The American Soldier*, Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, and Williams (1949) report that soldiers with similar social statuses (e.g., race, rank, and education) are more likely to have similar world views. To account for these findings, Merton and Kitt (1950) formulated the reference group thesis. The more similar two persons' backgrounds, the more experiences and beliefs they share and therefore, the more likely their interactions will have positive outcomes. This, in turn, increases the probability of their future interaction. Positive interactions increase similarity of beliefs and attitudes. Groups of individual who share common social statuses and who regularly interact form reference groups. Soldiers will attend more to the opinions and beliefs of their reference group, persons who are similar to themselves, and discount the opinions of those who are different. This screens the flow of information and reinforces the group's world view.

These findings raise basic questions for measuring equal opportunity climate (EOC). If status groups' experiences differ within the same organization, and as members of status groups tend to communicate more among themselves and share experiences, does this process produce widely divergent perceptions of a unit's EO climate? Such a divergence of opinion about the climate of a unit presents the possibility of examining units as multiple climates, depending on status groups' points of view. We might further explore how these divergent climates influence military readiness. This paper takes the first step and explores the amount of agreement among status groups as to the EO climate of their units.

¹³ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

Organizational Climate. It has been long recognized that organizations have distinct interpersonal styles or organizational climates. These climates are intimately linked to performance and satisfaction of workers and customers alike. The early work on organizational climate emphasized the effects of organizational characteristics on individuals' behavior and perceptions while later work stressed the effects of individuals' characteristics on perception of the organizational environment (Guion, 1973; James & Jones, 1974). Organizational perceptions appear to have a genetic component (Avery, Bouchard, Segal, & Abraham, 1989; Keller, Bouchard, Avery, Segal, & Dawis, 1992), although some dispute the genetic argument and ascribe individual differences to the individual's early environment (Herschberger, Lichtenstein, & Knox, 1994). Therefore, two individuals, in the same location within the same organization, due to individual differences (either inherited traits or variations in early experiences) view their organization as different climates. Despite the measurement implications, an organizational climate cannot be viewed external to the actor's perceptions, and an organizational climate is unique to the individuals and groups of similar individuals in a specific context. Satisfaction with a military member's unit varies by rank, race, service, and perhaps other relevant demographics. (For example, Stouffer et al., 1949, found the areas of the country from which African American soldiers came and the area in which their base was found influenced the overall evaluation of the base's climate.)

While management style, organizational regulations, and functional activities may influence an organization's climate, climate depends just as much on its organizational demographics or group diversity (Jackson, 1992; Jackson et al., 1991; Milliken & Martins, 1996; O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989). Higher diversity in work groups, due to age, ethnicity, nationality, or race, has been linked to lower job satisfaction, lower commitment to the organization, greater absenteeism, and lower likelihood of staying (Bochner & Hesketh, 1994; Jackson et al., 1991; O'Reilly et al., 1989; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Verkuyten, de Jong, & Masson, 1993; Wiersema & Bird, 1993).

Equal Opportunity Climate. While EO climate may be examined separately from overall organizational climate, equal opportunity climate correlates with general organization climate (Dansby & Landis, 1991). The relationship between an organization's EO policy and practices and organizational practices remain controversial. The question comes down to whether it is appropriate to look for an overall EO climate or treat the organization as multiple climates for specific groups, not relying on the unique individual alone. Given similar circumstances, social backgrounds, and gender roles, members of groups view their circumstances similarly and on average differ from other groups' views. These group-centric views extend to EO climate. Nevertheless, do members of one group have different views of the circumstances for other groups as well? Males may not see sexual discrimination or harassment if they are unaware of the activities of others or view some offensive behaviors as acceptable. Some officers may not come to terms with aspects of actions of enlisted personnel. Don't look and you will not see.

Equal opportunity involves two different ways of evaluating individuals and forming a foundation for interaction: ascription and achievement (Parsons, 1951). Ascription as a basis for social action is based on characteristics that are accidents of birth and biology, race, age, parent's social standing and culture, or gender, and beyond the individual's control.

Achievement as the basis rests on performance that involves the will and talent of the individual, performance on the job and in school, and upholding the laws of society. The larger American society and its military's values are based on achievement. Ancient ethnic and religious animosities, racial politics, traditional gender roles, and age stereotypes have maintained an undercurrent of ascriptive values through American history and forged what Myrdal (1944) called the American dilemma. Americans affirm that all persons are created equal, yet some groups are less equal. Equal opportunity requires the organization employ achievement entirely as the basis for evaluating its members.

The difficulty with installing equal opportunity measures is that members of ascribed status groups tend to interact informally more with members in the group than members in other groups within the organization. Group members then will more likely have limited information about other groups and hold different views on race and gender issues.

Research confirms that various groups have different views. Several studies find that blacks view the race problem differently from whites (Brown, Nordlie, & Thomas, 1977; Bowers, 1975; Soldier's Report IV, 1986), while one Navy survey reports no difference between the races (Parker, 1974). Women may perceive their organization has a less favorable climate than men, while officers experience a more positive climate than enlisted personnel (Soldier's Report IV, 1986; Spicher, 1980).

These findings seem puzzling at first. Yet, on further scrutiny, they fit a pattern. The higher an individual's status, ascribed or achieved, the more favorable they view their organization's EO climate. Early work on organizational climate treats the organization as the same climate for all workers. This assumption is at best tenuous. The debate over the appropriate definition of organizational climate requires that we take a stand. Little consensus exists (Herschberger, Lichtenstein, & Knox, 1994; James & Jones, 1974). Many would want climate to be an objective feature of the organization totally independent of the perceptions of actors in the organization--an outsider's view (Payne & Pugh, 1976). Shared collective perceptions come next--bringing the actor back into the equation. But, shared by whom and to what extent? Others seek to find not only organizational climate variables that are free of individual characteristics but are free of the organization's structural features as well (Guion, 1973). Herschberger et al. (1994) ask how you measure such a climate if you are not to interview workers or examine the structure?

Diversity of background increases interaction among those of similar backgrounds and creates cliques based on common statuses. Research findings are consistent with the proposition that the more similar the backgrounds and socioeconomic standing, the more people are attracted to each other (Kanter, 1977, Pfeiffer, 1983; Ziller, 1972), or as McPherson & Lovin-Smith (1987) call it, they have a "homophily" bias. Similar backgrounds imply similar values, similar life experiences before coming into the group, and many similar experiences interacting with other cultural groups within the organization. Consequently, similar persons find interaction among themselves more rewarding than with members of other groups (Milliken & Martins, 1996).

Climate is dependent on structure and the perception of all in the organization or those who deal with the organization. It is not the sum nor the consensual component of the group's perception but a multifaceted construct experienced by different types of individuals in different locations at different times. Climate as defined is useful in that while one individual's experience of the organization's climate may differ from the next person's, or those of a trained observer, people act according to their perceptions.

Organizational Situs. Organizations differ from other social objects in their complexity and large size. The rating of organizations by its members contrasts with rating of physical objects or social objects using standard psychophysical methods as members of an organization have a much longer contact with the organization. They also have different relationships to the organization and therefore the organization is a different object depending on the member's location within the organization, the organizational situs. The organization's members have a varying, but generally strong, stake in their positions; therefore, those with the strongest investment are more ego involved with the organization. Each member brings different external statuses that alter how they are responded to as well. These external statuses may have an overriding impact on the individuals' perceptions of their environment and, consequently, their groups' perceptions. Individuals with the same status characteristics may respond to their environment similarly.

The status can interact with organizational demography as the token minority literature demonstrates. Kanter (1977) points out that executive women who are the single token members in their unit are constantly reminded of their status and under greater scrutiny than their male counterparts. The reported effects of token status include altered social identities and greater gender or racial role salience (Ely, 1994; Izraeli, 1983; Mackle, 1981; Spangler & Gordon, 1978; Wolman & Frank, 1975; Yoder, 1994; Yoder & Sinnett, 1985) and impacts on evaluations (Sackett & Du Bois, 1991; Sackett, Du Bois, & Noe, 1991), performance outcomes (Alexander & Thoits, 1985), and psychological well-being (Jackson & Thoits, 1995).

Measuring Individual and Group Differences in Perceived Organizational Climate. Measuring organizational climate involves difficult estimation problems in that these perceptions involve both individual differences and stimulus differences. Point of view is often overlooked in as much as most organizational climate research employs only one or two organizations. When many organizations are studied, the importance of variations in individual or group responses to the same stimulus becomes apparent (Tzeng & Landis, 1978).

The EO climate experienced by individual A in organization X depends on the individual's genetic makeup and personality, shaped by experiences before entering organization X, by current experiences outside organization X, unique experiences that only happened only to A, experiences shared by A and others with similar characteristics in X (e. g., race, gender, rank, and age), and experiences experienced by all members of X. For EO climates, the unique inherited individual tendency to respond is background noise; the experiences shared by members with the same social backgrounds are more the signal that research must amplify.

In the social point of view approach, we assume that in a given unit, persons having the same status configuration are more likely to have similar experiences. Secondly we assume that

persons with the same status configurations and in the same unit have a greater probability of interacting than persons in the same unit who have different status configurations. More interaction with similar others influences the interpretations of common experiences, and what one does not experience directly, one hears about from peers.

Interaction is not the only source of differences in perceived organizational climate. Decomposition of perceived organizational climate reveals six components: (a) the unique individual level from genetically determined tendencies to view the environment positively or negatively; (b) unique childhood experiences of one individual that are not experienced by others in the unit; (c) unique experiences occurring after joining the unit that one individual experiences, but not others in the unit; (d) the group situs, including being a minority group member, that predisposes members of a specific group to view organizational climate similarly but differently from members of other status groups within the organization; (e) subunit variations in the larger organization due to the unique nature of the unit's work and personnel; and (f) the general organizational policies and culture. Identifying these components of variance is crucial to assessing the overall climate of a post or division. Unit level variation by unit function has been identified. Individual predilections to respond positively or negatively could be assessed by auxiliary personality tests. (This is expensive and politically difficult.) Unique personal experiences could be covered by a larger set of questions (again, this is expensive). In all, individual level variation must be assumed, and for practical considerations, accepted.

In order to employ individuals' perceptions as the basis for assessing organizational climate, a group point of view approach must be employed. Group differences can be studied by calculating mean scores for groups with identical status within the unit. If only one organizational variable is being studied, this produces a matrix of correlations, $n \times n$, with n being the number of groups. Let us divide the personnel into groups based on their gender, rank, officer and enlisted, and their race, African American and European American. More divisions are possible, in very large units. Enlisted personnel and officers could be grouped into seed bed and senior ranks. Race could include Hispanic and Oriental. The size of the units and the potential number of units that have many null sets or groups of one individual limits the number of groups that can be employed.

Organizational climate and EO surveys employ multiple scales to tap different aspects of organizational climate. This allows us to address the question, for example, of whether African American women officer's and European American male enlisted personnel's responses to the sexual harassment scale correlate, and in turn are their responses to a racial discrimination scale correlated, and further, do the two scales correlate within and between groups. The variables in this study are the group response to a specific scale. This allows us to study how groups employ different scales in assessing their organization's climate. Do the groups generally rank their organizations similarly, keeping in mind that groups with the same status configuration but in different organizations are made up of different individuals?

The purpose of the present study is to determine whether different status groups rate the climate within their organizations similarly among themselves, but differently compared to other groups, along various EO climate dimensions

Method

The instrument employed in this study is the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) produced by the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI). The MEOCS builds on past research on climate (Forehand & Gilmer, 1964; Litwin & Stringer, 1968; Tagiuri, 1968) and early EO surveys and combinations of these constructs (Sargent, 1978; Scheinfeld & Zalkind, 1987). The instrument has three general sections: Equal Opportunity Behaviors, Organizational Effectiveness, and Modified Racial Attitudes and Perceptions. Each section was designed to capture different aspects of climate (Landis, 1990; Dansby & Landis, 1991).

The Equal Opportunity Behaviors section focuses on behaviors that may have happened in the subject's unit. Five categories of behaviors that indicate equal opportunity climate were identified. Some 100 behaviors were identified, reduced to 45 unique variables and grouped through factor analysis into five general areas that include Sexual Harassment and Discrimination, Differential Command Behaviors, Positive EO Behaviors, Racist/Sexist Behaviors, and "Reverse" Discrimination. Questions were developed to assess the perceived amount of these behaviors in the unit within the last 30 days. The focus was on definable critical incidents and not a generalized concept. The five response categories were constructed similar to a Likert scale, and included: (1) there is a very high chance that the action occurred; (2) there is a reasonably high chance that the action occurred; (3) there is a moderate chance that the action occurred; (4) there is a small chance that the action occurred; and (5) there is almost no chance that the action occurred (Dansby & Landis, 1991).

The Organizational Effectiveness section of MEOCS consists of scales for Commitment (to the organization and its goals), Perceived Work Group Effectiveness, and Job Satisfaction. The last section, Modified Racial Attitudes and Perceptions, contains three scales addressing equal opportunity from a broader (e.g., in the services in general) framework. A final scale (Overall EO Climate) consists of two items measuring the respondents' global assessment of the EO climate in their units (Dansby & Landis, 1991). The MEOCS scales and their reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) appear in Table 1.

The units employed in this study come from all five services and reflect a full range of missions. The unit sizes range from base size (several thousand) to units of about 200 people. To insure confidentiality, unit identification information is not kept with the MEOCS data.

The unit of analysis was the military unit. Scores for each combination of race, gender, and rank groups were computed on each of the 12 scales for each military unit taking the MEOCS between June 1990 and the summer of 1996. The respondents were grouped by rank, (officer/enlisted), gender, and majority versus minority (African Americans and Hispanics). The basic design produced eight groups (race X gender X rank) times 12 scales, or ninety-six variables to factor. Therefore, the unit of data for the factor analysis was the status group mean for a given scale in a given unit. Maximum likelihood factor analysis was employed with varimax rotation. Three hundred and eighty-four units that had 200 or more personnel and all eight status groups represented in the unit were employed in the analysis.

Table 1
MEOCS Scales and Cronbach's Alphas

Scale	No. of Items	Alpha
Unit Equal Opportunity Behaviors		
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination	10	0.90
2. Differential Command Behaviors	10	0.90
3. Positive EO Behaviors	10	0.84
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors	8	0.85
5. "Reverse" Discrimination	7	0.79
Organizational Effectiveness		
6. Commitment	12	0.84
7. Work Group Effectiveness	5	0.87
8. Job Satisfaction	6	0.82
Modified Racial Attitudes and Perceptions		
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities	10	0.91
10. Racial Separation	5	0.81
11. "Reverse" Discrimination	5	0.73

From Dansby and Landis (1991).

Results

The maximum likelihood factor analysis of the group mean scale scores accounted for 57.5% of the variance. Regarding the communalities, H^2 , within each status group, Differential Command Behavior had the highest H^2 's for all groups except for Minority Officer Men, where it had the second highest H^2 . For the first seven factors, each factor was defined by a single status

Table 2
Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis of Eight Status Groups' Scores (1-8)
on Twelve MEOCS Scales with Varimax Rotation
(Only Factor Loadings Greater than .30 Are Shown)

Factors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	H^2
(1. Minority Officer Men)											
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination	.81										.77
2. Differential Command Behaviors	.83										.75
3. Positive EO Behaviors	.59										.45
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors	.77										.72
5. "Reverse" Discrimination	.76										.62
6. Commitment	.56										.47
7. Work Group Effectiveness	.60								.31		.46
8. Job Satisfaction	.57										.47
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities	.62										.49
10. Racial Separation	.62										.43
11. "Reverse" Discrimination	.77										.63
12. Overall EO Climate	.73										.66

Factors												
Status Groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	H ²	
(2. Minority Enlisted Men)												
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination		.76										.72
2. Differential Command Behaviors		.79										.80
3. Positive EO Behaviors		.67					.31					.53
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors		.59							.31			.62
5. "Reverse" Discrimination		.70										.62
6. Commitment		.49							.57			.67
7. Work Group Effectiveness		.70										.65
8. Job Satisfaction		.62					.34					.57
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities		.65										.67
10. Racial Separation		.46										.40
11. "Reverse" Discrimination		.72										.65
12. Overall EO Climate		.67					.31					.73
(3. Majority Officer Women)												
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination			.76									.66
2. Differential Command Behaviors			.86									.78
3. Positive EO Behaviors			.75									.59
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors			.79									.72
5. "Reverse" Discrimination			.72									.56
6. Commitment			.58						.43			.54
7. Work Group Effectiveness			.65									.52
8. Job Satisfaction			.66									.56
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities			.72									.55
10. Racial Separation			.49									.30
11. "Reverse" Discrimination			.66									.46
12. Overall EO Climate			.64									.50
(4. Majority Officer Men)												
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination				.76								.66
2. Differential Command Behaviors				.72								.78
3. Positive EO Behaviors				.64								.59
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors				.70								.72
5. "Reverse" Discrimination				.70								.56
6. Commitment				.59					.41			.54
7. Work Group Effectiveness				.61								.52
8. Job Satisfaction				.61								.56
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities				.80								.55
10. Racial Separation				.59								.30
11. "Reverse" Discrimination				.64								.46
12. Overall EO Climate				.64								.50
(5. Minority Officer Women)												
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination					.81							.66
2. Differential Command Behaviors					.81							.78
3. Positive EO Behaviors					.50							.59
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors					.80							.72
5. "Reverse" Discrimination					.71							.56
6. Commitment					.55				.33			.54
7. Work Group Effectiveness					.51							.52
8. Job Satisfaction					.59							.56
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities					.56							.55
10. Racial Separation					.66							.30
11. "Reverse" Discrimination					.73							.46
12. Overall EO Climate					.66							.50

Factors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	H²
Status Groups											
(6. Majority Enlisted Men)											
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination						.71					.66
2. Differential Command Behaviors						.69					.78
3. Positive EO Behaviors		.33				.54					.59
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors						.72					.72
5. "Reverse" Discrimination						.58					.56
6. Commitment		.49							.57		.54
7. Work Group Effectiveness						.46			.34		.52
8. Job Satisfaction						.50			.48		.56
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities		.37				.68					.55
10. Racial Separation						.60					.30
11. "Reverse" Discrimination		.32				.64					.46
12. Overall EO Climate						.59			.45		.50
(7. Majority Enlisted Women)											
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination							.71				.64
2. Differential Command Behaviors							.79				.74
3. Positive EO Behaviors							.42				.35
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors							.70				.63
5. "Reverse" Discrimination							.74				.63
6. Commitment							.38		.67		.70
7. Work Group Effectiveness							.39		.40		.35
8. Job Satisfaction							.50		.43		.49
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities							.67				.51
10. Racial Separation.							.56				.39
11. "Reverse" Discrimination							.54				.42
12. Overall EO Climate							.59				.62
(8. Majority Enlisted Women)											
1. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination								.73			.64
2. Differential Command Behaviors								.74			.66
3. Positive EO Behaviors								.65			.51
4. Racist/Sexist Behaviors								.67			.64
5. "Reverse" Discrimination								.33		.45	.40
6. Commitment								.54	.54		.65
7. Work Group Effectiveness									.39	.39	.35
8. Job Satisfaction								.42	.31	.39	.49
9. Discrimination Toward Minorities								.78			.51
10. Racial Separation								.32		.56	.39
11. "Reverse" Discrimination								.34		.49	.42
12. Overall EO Climate								.76			.62
Eigenvalues	19.0	6.0	5.2	4.7	4.6	4.2	3.5	3.3	2.6	2.1	
% Variance Explained	19.8	6.3	5.4	4.9	4.7	4.3	3.6	3.4	2.7	2.2	
Cumulative % Exp. Var.	19.8	26.1	31.5	36.3	41.1	45.4	49.1	52.5	55.3	57.5	

group on which at least eleven of the scales had their highest loadings. Each of these seven factors was named for the status group. (See Table 2). Minority Enlisted women have high loadings on factors 8 and 9, with the majority of high loadings on factor 8. Loading patterns reveal three powerful scales. Differential Command Behavior was the highest loading on four factors: Majority and Minority Officer Men, Majority Officer Women, and Minority Enlisted Women. Differential Command Behavior also tied for first for the Minority Officer Women. Sexual Harassment and Discrimination and Racist/Sexist Behavior ranked first on one factor, and high on several other factors as well. Three scales, Differential Command Behavior,

Racist/Sexist Behaviors and Sexual Harassment and Discrimination, form the core of factors one through six. As the reference group theory hypothesizes, the status groups strongly disagree on their organization's EO climate.

Factor 9 differs from the other factors in that it appears to represent a general agreement of all groups concerning Organizational Effectiveness. Factor 10 is essentially uninterpretable.

Conclusions

The findings support the conclusion that military units are different environments to different status groups. This study adds to the findings of the "American Soldier" (Stouffer et al., 1949). Not only do military personnel's opinions of the military in general vary by race, rank, and gender, their opinions of their units vary similarly but in a unique way. Each status configuration has its own opinion of its unit's EO climate.

The status group point of view factor analysis removes variance attributable to individual differences due to either genetics or early experience. When this fog lifts, a clearer picture of group variation in the evaluation of Department of Defense units emerges. The factor analysis also reveals agreement on the organizational commitment among the status groups. The group's perception of differential command behavior emerges as central to each group's estimate of EO climate.

The obvious conclusion is that EO climate should be assessed by status group. If a unit has many people from a group who are satisfied, the aggregated grand means for the unit obscure the views of significant minorities that evaluate the unit EO climate negatively. Breaking out the groups' means provides greater detail to target problem areas better. [In fact, the standard feedback process for MEOCS employs this approach to some degree already: major demographic groups (minority/majority, men/women, officer/enlisted, military/civilian, etc.) are compared, and a statistic (the disparity index) is displayed that indicates the average degree of disagreement between compared groups; Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993.] Care must be taken not to highlight very small groups within the unit or view a unit's EO climate negatively based on a handful of respondents without further investigation. With the building of a database that allows a comparison of units that are similar in mission, demographics, and other pertinent characteristics, commanders will be able to diagnose EO problems better and pinpoint the critical areas.

This study raises too many research questions to be addressed here. Does the unit's civilian environment play a role in military personnel's assessment of their unit as did location of the camp in the "American Soldier"? What is the impact of the relative size of a given status group in a unit, and what about the impact of the relative size of other groups?

The unit's mission and occupational specialties have not been fully explored as complicating factors in EO climate. These factors may influence the status group's perceptions differentially. Situs, or local, condition differences range dramatically in the military from a ship at sea where all activities (official and private) are conducted in a confined space for a long period to an Air Force base where most military personnel conduct their private lives outside the

base. Flight crews have schedules that differ from those of clerical and ground personnel. Some support units do exclusively white-collar work and other blue-collar producing. Fighting units face different challenges. These widely varying environments could contribute to organizational climate and produce very different unit environments on the same base. The next step is to incorporate unit size, isolation, mission, and unit demography into the analysis of the experiencing of unit EO climate. Only the MEOCS sample is large enough for such a task.

Beyond the work ahead, this paper demonstrates the power of the status group point of view to avoid the cluster of unique individual responses and aggregation of very different views of the organization. It shows the value of the MEOCS database and the subtle details that can be brought out by the appropriate analysis. The further exploration of the forces that create, increase, or decrease group divergence in world views and views of EO climates of various units will inform the future refinement of MEOCS and enhance capacity to improve unit readiness.

References

- Alexander, V. D., & Thoits, P. (1985). Token achievement: An examination of proportional representation and performance outcomes. *Social Forces*, 74, 333-340.
- Avery, R. D., Bouchard, T. J., Jr., Segal, N. L., & Abraham, L. M. (1989). Job satisfaction: Environmental and genetic components. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74, 187-192.
- Bochner, S., & Hesketh, B. (1994). Power distance, individualism/collectivism, and job-related attitudes in a culturally diverse work group. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 25, 827-847.
- Bowers, D. G. (1975). *New manpower: Values, practices, and human resources requirements*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute for Social Research.
- Brown, D. K., Nordlie, P. G., & Thomas, J. A. (1977). *Changes in black and white perceptions of the Army's race relations/equal opportunity programs - 1972 to 1974*, Technical Report #TR-77-B3. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Dansby, M. R., & Landis, D. (1991). Measuring equal opportunity climate in the military environment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 15, 389-405.
- Ely, R. J. (1994). The effects of demographics and social identity on relationships among professional women. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39, 203-238.
- Forehand, G. A., & Gilmer, B. (1964). Environmental variations in studies of behavior. *Psychological Bulletin*, 62, 362-381.
- Guion, R. M. (1973). A Note on climate. *Behavior and Human Performance*, 9, 120-125.

- Hershberger, S., Lichtenstein, L. P., & Knox, S. (1994). Genetic and environmental influences on perceptions of climate. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79(1), 24-33.
- Izraeli, D. N. (1983). Sex effects or structural effects? An empirical test of Kanter's theory of proportions. *Social Forces*, 62, 153-165.
- Jackson, P. B., & Thoits, P. A. (1995). Composition of the workplace and psychological well-being: The effects of tokenism on America's black elite. *Social Forces*, 74, 543-557.
- Jackson, S. E. (1992). Consequences of group composition for the interpersonal dynamics of strategic issue processing. In A. H. Dutton & P. Shrivastava (Eds.), *Advances on strategic management*, Vol. 8 (345-382). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Jackson, S. E., Brett, J. F., Sessa, V. I., Cooper, D. M., Julin, J. A., & Peyronnin, K. (1991). Some differences make a difference: Individual dissimilarity and group heterogeneity as correlates of recruitment, promotions, and turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76(1), 675-689.
- James, L., & Jones, A. (1974). Climate: A review of theory and research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 81, 1096-1112.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Keller, L. M., Bouchard, T. J., Avery, R. D., Segal, N. I., & Dawis, R. D. (1992). Work values: Genetic and environmental influences. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 79-88.
- Landis, D. (1990). *Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: Reliability, construct validity, and preliminary field test* [Final Report]. F080606-89-C-007. University, MS: Center for Applied Research and Evaluation.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M., & Faley, R. (1993). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An example of surveying in organizations. In Rosenfeld, P., Edwards, J. E., & Thomas, M. D. (Eds.), *Improving organizational surveys: New directions, methods, and applications* (pp. 210-239). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Litwin, G. H., & Stringer, R. A. (1968). *Motivation and climate*. Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.
- Mackle, A. S. (1981). Token men and women: A Note on the salience of sex and occupation among professionals and semiprofessionals. *Sociology of Work and Occupation*, 8, 25-38.
- McPherson, J. M., & Lovin-Smith, L. (1987). Homophily in voluntary organizations: Status distance and composition of face-to-face groups. *American Sociological Review*, 52, 370-379.

- Merton, R. K., & Kitt, A. S. (1950). Contributions to the theory of reference group behavior. In R. K. Merton & P. F. Lazarsfeld (Eds.), *Continuities in social research: Studies in the scope and method of "The American Soldier."* Glencoe IL: The Free Press.
- Milliken F. J., & Martins, L. L. (1996). Searching for common threads: Understanding the multiple effects of diversity in groups. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 402-433.
- Myrdal, G. (1944). *An American dilemma*. New York: Harper & Bros.
- O'Reilly, C. A., Caldwell, D. F., & Barnett, W. P. (1989). Work group demography, social integration, and turnover. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34, 21-37.
- Parker, W. S. (1974). *Differences in practices and preferences in the Navy by race*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.
- Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system*. Glencoe IL: The Free Press.
- Payne, R., & Pugh, D. S. (1976). Structure and climate. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.), *Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* (pp. 1125-1173). Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Pfeiffer, J. (1983). Demography. In L. L. Cummings & B. M. Staws (Eds.), *Research in Behavior*, Vol. 3 (299-357). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Sackett, P. R., Du Bois, C. L. Z., & Noe, A. W. (1991). Tokenism in performance evaluation: The effects of work group representation on male-female and white-black differences in performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 263-267.
- Sackett, P. R., & Du Bois, C. L. Z. (1991). Rater-ratee effects on performance evaluation: Challenging meta-analytic conclusions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 76, 873-877.
- Sargent, A. G. (1978). Affirmative action: Total system change. *University of Michigan Business Review*, 30, 18-26.
- Scheinfield, D., & Zalkind, S. S. (1987). Does civil liberties climate in organizations correlate with job satisfaction and work alienation? *Personnel Psychology*, 60, 467-477.
- Soldier's Report IV*. (1986). Washington, DC: Department of the Army.
- Spangler, E., & Gordon, M. A. (1978). Token women: An empirical test of Kanter's hypothesis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 160-170.
- Spicher, C. R. (1980). *Equal opportunity and treatment: Perceptions of United States Air Force Military Men and Women*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Air Command and Staff College.

- Stouffer, S., Suchman, E. A., DeVinney, L. C., Star, S., & Williams, R. M., Jr. (1949). *The American soldier: Adjustment during Army life*, Vol. I. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tagiuri, R. (1968). The concept of climate. In R. Tagiuri & G. H. Litwin (Eds.), *Climate: Explorations of a Concept*. Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business.
- Tsui, A. S., Egan, T. D., & O'Reilly, C. A. (1992). Being different: Relational demography and attachment. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39, 549-579.
- Tzeng, O., & Landis, D. (1978). Three-mode multidimensional scaling with points of view solutions. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 13, 181-213.
- Verkuyten, M., de Jong, W., & Masson, C. N. (1993). Job satisfaction among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 42, 171-189.
- Wiersema, M. F., & Bird, A. (1993). Demography in Japanese firms: Group heterogeneity, individual dissimilarity and top management team turnover. *Academy of Management Journal*, 32, 996-1025.
- Wolman, A. S., & Frank, H. (1975). The solo woman in a professional peer group. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 45, 164-71.
- Yoder, J. D. (1994). Looking beyond numbers: The effects of gender status, job prestige, and occupational gender-type on tokenism processes. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57, 150-59.
- Yoder, J. D., & Sinnett, L. M. (1985). Is it all in the numbers? A case study of tokenism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 9, 413-418.
- Ziller, R. C. (1972). Homogeneity and heterogeneity of group membership. In C. G. McClintock (Ed.), *Experimental Social Psychology* (pp. 385-411). New York: Holt.

*The Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey:
An Update on What the Bosses Believe¹⁴*

M. R. Dansby
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

Abstract

This paper presents updated results from the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey. Over 1,300 generals, admirals, and Senior Executive Service (SES) civilians were surveyed. A MANOVA of the 12 equal opportunity scale scores indicated significant main effects ($p < .05$) for Race (minority/majority), Personnel Status (military/SES civilian), and Gender (male/female). Results indicate senior leaders are generally quite positive on these issues. Comparison with Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey scores indicates senior leaders are more optimistic than the rank and file on all equal opportunity issues except sexual harassment.

Since 1994, the Department of Defense (DoD) has required that all newly selected general and flag officers (O7s) and Senior Executive Service (SES) civilians receive a two-day equal opportunity (EO) training seminar conducted by the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI). The Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (SLEOCS) is administered to all participants in conjunction with this training (Dansby, 1996). The SLEOCS includes several scales that are comparable to scales in the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS; Dansby & Landis, 1991; Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993), which has been used across the DoD since 1990 in a survey intervention program to aid military commanders in identifying and addressing EO and organizational effectiveness concerns. Since the SLEOCS offers a “view from the top” on EO issues within the services and MEOCS gives the views of typical military members, it is possible to compare the two perspectives (Dansby, 1996).

Prior analyses of SLEOCS results (Hochhaus, 1995; Johnson, 1995; McIntyre, 1995; Dansby, 1996) indicate senior leaders hold a generally optimistic view of the DoD’s EO climate. Johnson (1995) reported 5-point scale scores ranging from 4.0 to 4.7 for perceptions of fairness, personal preparation, mission relatedness, value of training and assessment, and leadership impact in EO. McIntyre (1995) developed seven scales (alphas ranging from .59 to .82) using only the EOP section of the survey and demonstrated moderate evidence of convergent validity with MEOCS for four of the scales. Dansby (1996), using a larger database of respondents, derived 12 psychometrically supportable scales from the entire SLEOCS and confirmed the senior leaders’ generally positive views of EO in the military. Hochhaus (1995) conducted a content analysis of comments in the open-ended section of SLEOCS, and the senior leaders identified the following (in order) as the most significant EO issues facing the Services: opportunities for promotion, retention, key assignments; sexual harassment; “reverse” discrimination; general EO issues; recruiting; training; racial discrimination; affirmative action; women in combat or at sea; and

¹⁴ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

downsizing. Each of these was mentioned by at least 10% of the respondents. Over 60% mentioned leadership as the key to an effective EO program, and over 40% mentioned training as being an important factor in EO success.

Since it has been some time since the last SLEOCS report (Dansby, 1996), and because considerably more data have been collected, the present report provides an update of results. Based on prior findings from the MEOCS (Dansby & Landis, 1991; Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993) and SLEOCS (Dansby, 1996), EO perceptions by race, gender, and personnel category are examined for significant effects.

Method

Dansby (1996) summarizes the development and structure of SLEOCS and MEOCS. Data for the current analysis include the entire database of SLEOCS responses (N = 1349) collected through administrations at 57 senior leader EO seminars conducted from March 1995 - November 1997. For some of the seminars, the survey was administered by mail, approximately three weeks before the seminars began. For others, the instruments were distributed prior to the seminars and collected on the first day. Each instrument included a cover letter describing the purpose and uses of the survey; a booklet including the privacy act statement, instructions, and survey items; a computer-scored response form for the closed-ended items; and a return envelope. Respondents were advised that the survey is voluntary, but that the overall results would be used as an integral part of their training. They were also assigned a confidential identification code so that, at their option, individual response profiles could be returned privately. They were asked to complete and return the response form and answers to the open-ended questions.

Completed surveys were included in an overall database, from which the present analysis was conducted. A total of 1,349 useable survey forms were returned from the 1,947 seminar participants, yielding a useable response rate of 66%. Demographics for the sample were as follows: 35% Air Force, 32% Army, 17% Navy, 5% Marine Corps, 1% Coast Guard, 10% other federal civilian; 91% men, 9% women; 91% majority, 9% minority (5% Black and 1.8% Hispanic); 68% military, 32% DoD civilian; of the military members, 32% O7 selects, 48% O7, 16% O8, 4% above O8; 61% active duty, 39% National Guard/Reserve duty; of the DoD civilians, 47% SES1, 26% SES2-3, 28% SES4 or higher.

Factor-based scale scores were computed for the 12 SLEOCS scales as described by Dansby (1996). Scale score results were analyzed using MANOVA with the following main factors: *Race* (minority/majority), *Personnel Status* (military officer/SES civilian), and *Gender* (male/female).

Results

Table 1 presents overall average scale scores and descriptive statistics for the 12 SLEOCS factors. The MANOVA indicated none of the interactions was significant at the .05 level. The Race ($F_{12, 1305} = 8.78, p = .000$), Personnel Status ($F_{12, 1305} = 3.51, p = .000$), and gender ($F_{12, 1305}$

= 2.79, $p = .001$) main effects were all significant. A summary of the significant univariate F tests for these main effects is presented in Table 2. (Means presented in Table 2 are weighted means.)

Table 1
Factor Scale Score Statistics
(higher score indicates perception of better condition)

FACTOR	TITLE	MEAN	STANDARD ERROR	N
Factor 1	<i>EO Issues</i>	4.00	.02	1345
Factor 2	<i>Differential Command Behavior toward Minorities</i>	4.45	.02	1345
Factor 3	<i>Positive EO Behaviors</i>	4.22	.02	1345
Factor 4	<i>Success of EO Programs</i>	4.12	.02	1348
Factor 5	<i>Helpfulness of EO Programs</i>	4.03	.02	1348
Factor 6	<i>EO Link to Leadership and Readiness</i>	4.50	.01	1349
Factor 7	<i>“Reverse” Discrimination</i>	4.20	.02	1340
Factor 8	<i>Racist/Sexist Behaviors</i>	4.30	.02	1344
Factor 9	<i>Sexual Harassment & (Sex) Discrimination</i>	3.84	.02	1345
Factor 10	<i>Relative EO Climate in DoD</i>	3.92	.02	1348
Factor 11	<i>Concerns about Preferential Treatment for Women & Minorities</i>	4.10	.02	1340
Factor 12	<i>Overall EO Climate</i>	4.05	.02	1347

Table 2
Means by Group and Results of Univariate F Tests
($df = 1, 1316$)

FACTOR	TITLE	Minority (n=112)	Majority (n=1233)	p	Military (n=910)	Civilian (n=428)	p	Women (n=121)	Men (n=1228)	p
Factor 2	<i>Differential Command Behavior toward Minorities</i>	3.94	4.50	.000	4.45	4.46	NS	4.25	4.48	NS
Factor 4	<i>Success of EO Programs</i>	3.53	4.18	.000	4.25	3.87	.000	3.67	4.17	.000
Factor 5	<i>Helpfulness of EO Programs</i>	4.28	4.01	.015	4.06	3.96	NS	4.08	4.03	NS
Factor 7	<i>“Reverse” Discrimination</i>	4.36	4.18	.004	4.20	4.20	NS	4.26	4.19	.031
Factor 8	<i>Racist/Sexist Behaviors</i>	3.92	4.33	.005	4.27	4.34	NS	4.26	4.30	NS
Factor 10	<i>Relative EO Climate in DoD</i>	3.59	3.95	.000	4.04	3.68	.000	3.52	3.96	.001
Factor 12	<i>Overall EO Climate</i>	3.57	4.10	.000	4.13	3.90	.001	3.87	4.07	NS

Discussion and Conclusions

The present study confirms earlier results indicating that senior leaders generally have a positive view of the status of EO in the DoD. The average score on the five-point EO scales was 4.14, indicating senior leaders typically believe there are few EO problems. Even the lowest score (Sexual Harassment and Discrimination) indicates only a moderate concern.

Table 3 contrasts scores on SLEOCS with (weighted) MEOCS scores for over 170,000 active duty military members surveyed between 1995 and 1997 (Dansby, unpublished data; see also Dansby, in press). As is evident from this table, senior leaders are more optimistic than the rank and file (who in general also have fairly positive scores) on all issues except Sexual

Harassment and (Sex) Discrimination. Perhaps a key reason senior leaders are not so optimistic on gender issues is the extensive reporting in the public media of recent cases of sexual misconduct in the military. Widespread knowledge of individual cases can leave the impression that the incidence rate is higher. It also makes senior leaders more aware of the problem, since there is considerable pressure from the public to deal with the issue.

Table 3
Comparison of SLEOCS and MEOCS Scale Scores
(higher score indicates perception of better condition)

Scale	Senior Leaders (SLEOCS)	Rank and File Active Duty Military (MEOCS)
<i>Differential Command Behavior toward Minorities</i>	4.45	4.23
<i>Positive EO Behaviors</i>	4.22	3.76
<i>“Reverse” Discrimination</i>	4.20	3.89
<i>Racist/Sexist Behaviors</i>	4.30	3.94
<i>Sexual Harassment & (Sex) Discrimination</i>	3.84	3.99
<i>Overall EO Climate</i>	4.05	3.41

Although senior leaders in general are likely to perceive few EO problems in the military, those who are racial-ethnic minority members or women are more likely to believe military EO problems have not been solved. Perhaps this is because senior leaders who are minorities or women are more likely to have experienced discrimination personally, thus making them more aware of such concerns in general. (Self-reports on SLEOCS indicate minority or female senior leaders are four times more likely to report having experienced some form of discrimination based on race or gender.) The greater sensitivity of minority or female senior leaders argues for a continuing need to have minorities and women represented in greater numbers at the senior levels of DoD. With representation from these groups, senior leaders’ awareness of EO issues may be heightened and action programs to improve EO climate may be afforded higher priority.

The pattern of significant main effects indicates there are greater differences in senior leaders’ viewpoints by racial category than by military/civilian or gender categories. This is interesting in light of the current emphasis in the Congress, DoD, and popular press on gender issues (as opposed to racial issues) as the preeminent EO concern in the military. While gender issues are certainly critical, does their prominence indicate a relative lack of attention to racial issues? If so, might we expect more racial incidents to surface in the next few years? Only time will tell, but it would seem prudent of senior military leaders to become more aware of racial, as well as gender, issues.

In sum, the results from MEOCS and SLEOCS indicate most perceive the EO climate as fairly positive in the military. Despite the demographic differences between minority and majority, men and women, and military and civilian, all groups rate the EOC on the positive side of the scale. Despite this relative “success story,” the continual turnover of military personnel and the different experiences of some groups (e.g., minorities or women) call for constant awareness and correction of inequities that may occur. Only by continued effort will the military be able to reach its human goals of equity and dignity for all service members.

References

- Dansby, M. R. (1996). The senior leader equal opportunity survey: What do the bosses believe? Proceedings: Applied Behavioral Sciences Fifteenth Symposium, Colorado Springs, CO: USAF Academy Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership, 310-316.
- Dansby, M. R. (in press). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An update. Proceedings: 2nd Biennial EO/EEO Research Symposium, Cocoa Beach, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute
- Dansby, M. R., & Landis, D. (1991). Measuring equal opportunity in the military environment. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *15*, 389-405.
- Hochhaus, L. (1995). A content analysis of written comments to the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Survey (SLEOS) (DEOMI Research Series Pamphlet 95-7). Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Johnson, J. L. (1995). A preliminary investigation into DEOMI training effectiveness (DEOMI Research Series Pamphlet 95-8). Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., & Faley, R. H. (1993). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An example of surveying in organizations. In P. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, & M. D. Thomas (Eds.), Improving Organizational Surveys: New Directions, Methods, and Applications. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- McIntyre, R. M. (1995). Examination of the psychometric properties of the Senior Leader Equal Opportunity Survey: Equal opportunity perceptions (DEOMI Research Series Pamphlet 95-6). Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

Invited Speaker

Dr. Joe Feagin
University of Florida

*The Future of U.S. Society in an Era of Racism,
Group Segregation, and Demographic Revolution¹⁵*

Abstract

The attitudes and practices of white Americans are on a collision course with the changing demographic, social, and political composition of the nation. The non-European population is growing year by year, and by the year 2010 most of the larger cities and several states or major portions of states (including California and Texas) will have white minority populations. Demographers estimate that by the 2050s whites will make up a minority of the U.S. population. At the same time, most white Americans admit to pollsters and researchers that they harbor negative views of people of color, particularly those who are darker-skinned, and several recent studies indicate very widespread discrimination by whites in such areas as housing. If whites do not change their attitudes and practices soon, the reality of large-scale racial and ethnic conflict looms large for the nation over the next few decades. The policy challenges are dramatic and far-reaching.

(NOTE: The following was provided by Dr. Feagin as a statement of the argument in his presentation.)

The Future of U.S. Society in an Era of Racism,
Group Segregation, and Demographic Revolution

(Paper prepared for ISA Conference, Toronto, Canada, August, 1997)

Joe R. Feagin
University of Florida

Introduction

In F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel, *The Great Gatsby* (1983, p. 19), several whites converse about a new book by a racist analyst. One character concludes that "the white race will be . . .

¹⁵ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff; it's been proved. . . . It is up to us, who are the dominant race, to watch out or these other races will have control of things." Another character adds, "We've got to beat them down."

Today this concern with maintaining white domination over "other races" remains strong in the U.S. and seems to be increasing. It is found not only in white supremacist groups but also among white leaders and rank-and-file workers. Republican candidate Patrick Buchanan made this statement to the 1992 Republican convention: "And as those boys [National Guard at 1992 riot] took back the streets of Los Angeles, block by block, my friends, we must take back our cities, and take back our culture, and take back our country" (quoted in Zukin, 1995, p. 47). Buchanan is referring to the growth of the non-European population. *Forbes* editor Peter Brimelow has argued that the U.S. is facing huge immigration waves that are reducing the white core. He asserts the U.S. "has always had a specific ethnic core. And that core has been white." A few years back, some 90 percent of Americans "looked like me. That is, they were of European stock. And in those days, they had another name for this thing dismissed so contemptuously as 'the racial hegemony of white Americans.' They called it 'America'" (Brimelow, 1995, pp. 5-10, 59).

Many white analysts fear processes and actions that may make the U.S. truly multicultural. Buchanan has argued that "Our Judeo-Christian values are going to be preserved and our Western heritage is going to be handed down to future generations and not dumped on some landfill called multiculturalism" (quoted in Page, 1991, p. A27). This view is also held by white liberals. Journalist Richard Bernstein has argued, in very exaggerated terms, that aggressive training in multiculturalism is dominant and tyrannical on college campuses. He compares campus multiculturalism to the "terror" after the French revolution in its allegedly "narrow orthodoxy" and its "occasional outright atrocity" (Bernstein, 1994, pp. 3-4). Liberal social scientist Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., views multiculturalism as dominating all levels of education and as making "an astonishing repudiation" of the idea of "a unifying American identity." He fears the great "assault on the Western tradition" by multiculturalism, which he also terms "tribalism" (Schlesinger, 1991, pp. 13, 124-125). For white liberals like Bernstein and Schlesinger, as well as for conservatives like Buchanan and Brimelow, multiracial or multicultural efforts are seen as challenging white interests. All clearly fear the current and coming challenges to white domination.

These views have a deep history among U.S. intellectuals, including social scientists. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries many white social scientists, including leading sociologists like Edward A. Ross, and other public intellectuals articulated views similar to these. One of the most influential intellectuals during the first three decades of the 20th century was Madison Grant, a lawyer and zoologist who developed his ideas in widely read *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916). He feared newer immigrant groups from southern and eastern Europe, asserting that interbreeding between European "races" would destroy the superior "Nordic race." This pseudoscientific racism fueled support for passage of the openly racist 1924 immigration law, which excluded most immigrants other than northern Europeans. The sadness recently expressed by white intellectuals and analysts over the loss of what they prize as "Western civilization" echoes the fears and ideas of earlier apologists for white domination.

Today, much evidence indicates that the majority of white leaders (including many contemporary social scientists by action or default) and rank-and-file whites desire to maintain and reinforce the white domination and hegemony they regard as central to the structure of the United States. From the first years of conquest to the present day, white racial domination has been a central organizing feature of North American society. Significantly, however, few social scientists have thoroughly researched and theorized this white domination in its past, present, and likely future incarnations. In this paper I call for renewed research on the patterns and realities of this racial domination, particularly in relation to the demographic changes now presenting challenges to it.

The Ongoing Demographic Revolution

Major challenges to white domination are arising from large-scale population changes now well underway. Whites of European descent are a modest and decreasing fifth of the world's population, and they constitute a decreasing proportion of the U.S. population. Whites are now a statistical minority of the population in four of the five largest U.S. cities--including New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago--and in larger areas such as New Mexico, Hawaii, and the southern parts of Florida, Texas, and California. If current migration and birth rates continue, about the year 2002 whites will become a minority of California's population; about 2010, a minority of Texas' population; between 2015 and 2040, a minority of the population in Arizona, New York, Nevada, Florida, New Jersey, Maryland, and some other states; and about 2050, a minority of the U.S. population (Maharidge, 1996). By about 2035 a majority of youth under the age of nineteen will be youth of color (Feagin, Vera, and Zsembik, 1995). According to recent Census Bureau middle-scenario projections (assuming a rate of growth no less than for the 1980s) in the year 2050 the U.S. population will be about 383 million, with just under half, about 181 million, being Americans of color (Murdock, 1995, pp. 33-47). At that point, there will be more Americans of color than there are whites today. By the late 2050s, if the rate of growth does not decrease, Americans of European descent will be the statistical minority. This marks a very dramatic change; not since the early 1700s have whites been a minority of this area's population.

These demographic changes have significant social, economic, and political implications, most of which have not yet been probed by social scientists. Let me mention a few. No later than 2040 the U.S. educational system will be predominantly composed of students of color; this has major implications for the staffing, structure, and curriculum of schools. If the association between being a family of color and having a lower than average income does not change, the proportion of poor families will increase, as will economic and related inequalities across the color line. By the late 2050s or so a majority of the labor force will no longer be white, and the population and labor force will be older (see Murdock, 1995, pp. 193-197). The older retired population will have a majority of whites, while the younger working population will have a majority of workers of color. How will the latter feel about supporting elderly whites (e.g., on Social Security) who have created and maintained a white-racist society? There will likely be a racial polarization in regard to other politicized issues such as bilingual education programs and English as the official U.S. language. White politicians who have strongly opposed legal immigration and affirmative action will not likely be elected when the majority of their

constituencies becomes citizens of color. Voting constituencies will change--so will juries and justice systems, educational systems, and other government agencies.

What is White Racial Domination?

White racial domination encompasses the white attitudes, emotions, ideologies, practices, and institutions integral to the long-term domination of people of color. At the heart of this domination are socially organized practices of whites that deny people of color the dignity, opportunities, spaces, positions, and privileges available to whites (Feagin and Vera, 1995, pp. 7-8). These white practices, which are racist in their use of the identifying markers of physical characteristics and biological ancestry, are an everyday matter and routinely "activate underlying power relations" (Essed, 1991, p. 50). Undergirding the practices are strong ideological rationalizations. This white domination stems historically from the expansion of European capitalism and colonialism, which dominated non-European peoples (by means of weaponry and epidemics) in order to secure raw materials, cheap labor, and access to new markets. When dominated peoples come to be seen in racialized terms by capitalist colonizers, capitalism, colonialism, and racism merge and reinforce each other (Feagin and Batur-Vanderlippe, 1996). As Pierre Van den Berghe has noted, "Far and away the most widespread, enduring, and virulent form of racism and the costliest in terms of human suffering has been that which developed in western Europe and its colonial extensions in Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Western hemisphere" (Van den Berghe, 1981, p. 362).

White Domination in Everyday Practice

Today as in the past, white domination encompasses the exploitation and sociospatial segregation of people of color, as well as the reinforcing phenomena of coercion, violence, and cultural dominance. There is a structure of racial separation and segregation maintained in an ongoing process of everyday discrimination and its rationalization. Indeed, one of the most striking features of U.S. society today is its extreme segregation along racial lines.

In the U.S. economy there is a dual labor market structure within which many if not most workers of color are forced into lower paying jobs by means of direct and indirect (e.g., via de facto segregated education) discrimination. This can be seen both across and within the blue-collar, white-collar, and elite occupational categories of the U.S. economy. At the top of the economic pyramid, white men hold virtually all powerful positions in large corporations and other major organizations. A 1980s' analysis of top positions in major economic, political, and educational organizations found only 20 African Americans and 318 non-black women in these 7,314 powerful positions (Dye, 1986, pp. 190-205). More recent studies suggest the pattern persists. In the mid-1990s about 95 percent of the corporate positions at the level of vice president or higher were held by white men (Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, pp. 12, 60-61).

At all occupational levels, the dual structure is maintained by widespread discrimination against workers of color. One study of hiring discrimination in Washington, DC and Chicago used black and white testers applying for entry-level jobs; about 20 of the black men faced discriminatory treatment (Turner, Fix, and Struyk, 1991). A 1994 survey of more than 1,000

African American employees in Los Angeles found six in ten reporting employment discrimination in the past year; the more their education, the greater the likelihood they faced job discrimination (Bobo and Suh, 1995). The researchers also found that a majority of highly educated Asian and Latino American workers reported job discrimination. This pervasive system of workplace discrimination reserves many job opportunities and privileges for whites. The system also transfers the “results of the labor of one social group to benefit another” (Young, 1990, p. 49). Historically, much of the value of the labor of workers of color has been transferred to white employers by means of slavery or low wages, to a degree that exceeds that for white workers. One additional dual reality facing (disproportionately working-class) workers of color is a very high level of unemployment, which for African Americans has long been at least double that for white workers. As Willhelm (1970) long ago taught us, increasingly workers of color are no longer needed in many areas of the U.S. economy.

From the beginning residential segregation has been a central underpinning of white domination. Massey and Denton examined black-white segregation in thirty major metropolitan areas and found little change in the high levels of residential segregation between 1980 and 1990. For African Americans residential segregation from whites was high at all income levels and in both cities and suburbs (Massey and Denton, 1993, pp. 221-223). Widespread real estate and rental discrimination lies behind this racial geography. One U.S. research study (1989) using 3,800 test audits in 25 cities estimated that black renters encountered discrimination about half the time, while black homeseekers faced discrimination 59 percent of the time. Latino American testers faced similar levels of discrimination (Turner, Struyk, and Yinger, 1991). Recent housing audit studies in Fresno, New Orleans, and Montgomery sent testers into traditionally white rental areas and found very high rates (70-80 percent) of anti-black (and in Fresno anti-Latino) discrimination by Anglo landlords (see Fair Housing Council of Fresno County, 1995).

One possible white response to the demographic changes mentioned previously is to flee areas of high growth in residents of color, that is, to increase the degree of territorial separation and segregation. Frey (1997) has argued that population data show the U.S. is balkanizing, in part because of renewed “white flight.” For example, as California has seen large-scale immigration from Asia and Latin America, many whites have left the state. During the first half of the 1990s most U.S. counties with substantial population gains from internal migration saw little percentage growth in the immigrant population; these areas are becoming whiter and older. In contrast, most of the 70 counties with significant growth in number of immigrants had low (net) numbers of domestic migrants (Frey, 1997, p. 22). Most of the large West Coast, Gulf Coast, and East Coast cities are becoming more diverse in racial-ethnic terms, and whites are now, or soon will be, the minority population in them. Yet, in other areas of the U.S., particularly the Midwest and Mountain West, diversity is not increasing, or these areas are actually becoming whiter (Frey and Tilove, 1995, p. 44). Frey has underscored the spatial segregation here: “Early in the 20th century, the distance between immigrant communities and native-born communities could be measured in mere yards by city neighborhood boundaries. Later on, it widened to miles as a stark contrast between city and suburb became apparent. Current patterns suggest that the distance between these two kinds of communities is widening even further” (Frey, 1997, p. 22).

Some time ago Myrdal (1964 [1944] 2: 618) noted that residential segregation means whites and blacks do not interact “in the many activities founded on common neighborhood. Residential segregation also often becomes reflected in uniraical schools, hospital and other institutions.” The experiential reality of enforced separation in space is at the heart of white domination, and it has serious consequences. In the early 1990s journalist Isabel Wilkerson’s field report of two adjacent suburbs of Chicago, one white and one black, found that many whites “live out entire lives without ever getting to know a black person.” Each racial group feared the other, but black Chicagoans were “fearful because much of their contact with white people was negative,” while “whites were fearful because they had little or no contact” (Wilkerson, 1992, p. 18). Today, as in the past, most white Americans seem to live in an isolated spatial “bubble” separated for the most part from the worlds of African Americans and other Americans of color.

Today, segregation in education often stems from residential segregation and both help maintain the dual labor market. A recent Harvard research project reported that, as U.S. courts in the 1980s and 1990s allowed school systems to discontinue desegregation programs, segregation of black and white children increased significantly--in city and suburban school systems (Applebome 1997, p. A10).

Challenges for Sociological Theory

In his book *The World and Africa*, William E. B. Du Bois argued that the extreme degradation in European colonies overseas was “a main cause of wealth and luxury in Europe. The results of this poverty were disease, ignorance, and crime. Yet these had to be represented as natural characteristics of backward peoples” (1965 [1946]), p. 37). Africa had long been left out of European accounts of Western industrial development and affluence. By bringing the history of Africa to the center Du Bois showed that African colonization had to be central to serious accounts of European development. Today, the economic development and wealth of industrialized nations are still linked substantially to past and continuing exploitation of resources and labor of people of color within these nations and across the globe.

If we are to understand the past, present, and likely future of the U.S. and other Western societies, we must place “race,” or more accurately white racial domination, at the center of sociological analysis. Today, little social science research and theory--outside the marginalized areas called “racial relations” or “minorities”--now does this. Indeed, most societal analysis ignores race or treats it as one variable among many and not as a central reality. Like Marx’s placing of class exploitation at the center of analysis of Western societies, we must place racial exploitation, oppression, and segregation at the center of serious analyses of Western societies. At their cores they **are** about racial oppression and domination. (I am not calling here for a monothematic perspective. I recognize that class and gender domination must also be placed at the center of any thorough analysis of Western societies.)

It has been said that a major task for residents of the former Communist states of Eastern Europe is to forget the falsified past and to learn the real past, in which old heroes become villains and old villains become heroes. One major insight for sociological analysis of U.S. racial matters is that the old, frequently white-washed, racial history of the United States--still featured in most

textbooks today--must be replaced with one that places the collective memory of the oppressed at its center. The collective memory of oppressed people of color is not necessarily always accurate, but it is doubtless often much more accurate than the collective memory of the white oppressor on matters of racial domination, whether that collective memory be recorded by social scientists or not (see Coser, 1992, pp. 21-22). Racial domination includes the construction of a view of past history and of current reality, a dominant ideology, that legitimates racial domination. The beginning of sociological wisdom on racial matters is bringing the collective memory of the oppressed from the margin to the center of research and analysis. Given the sorry record of most early, and many contemporary social scientists, in regard to racial oppression and hegemony (including errors of omission), the history and practice of social science need to be thoroughly researched and factored into an understanding of the perpetuation of racial domination.

Let me illustrate the neglect of racial domination in one major tradition of U.S. social science. Modern sociology in the U.S. is sometimes said to have originated in the research of the famous "Chicago School," which centered much of its research attention on the social geography of cities. Drawing heavily on the analogy of plant communities, leading University of Chicago sociologists conceptualized urban development and differentiation in terms of an impersonal and natural competition of human groups. Groups such as whites and blacks located in "natural city areas" whose composition changed over time in processes such as group invasion and succession (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1925). In the Chicago School's ethnographic studies the lives of those in poor areas were frequently portrayed in terms of a subculture of poverty. However, these researchers largely ignored the interventionist role of powerful business/political elites in shaping cities like Chicago. Their theories and generalizations not only ignored white racial domination but sometimes even reflected racist notions of superior and inferior racial groups common in this period (see, for example, Park, 1918). Certainly, subsequent sociological analysis of cities has moved beyond this perspective to give some attention to the role of racial discrimination in urban patterns (see Gist and Fava, 1974), yet even today it is not a central concept in urban research or in general sociology textbooks in the United States (see Logan and Molotch, 1987).

Making arguments about the poor that are similar in a number of ways to the old Chicago School, William Julius Wilson, perhaps the most politically influential sociologist in the U.S., has recently published a third major book on the urban poor. Drawing on research studies of poor black Chicagoans, Wilson (1996) interprets their severe economic problems mainly in terms of broad trends such as the globalization of jobs and argues that social problems of the black poor come from job troubles and from concentration in neighborhoods without middle-class residents or strong institutions (Wilson, 1996). However, Wilson ignores or downplays the role of past and present racial domination in creating problems for African Americans in Chicago. For example, there is no discussion of the major role that powerful white real estate actors have long played in the city's high level of residential segregation nor of white-elite-controlled urban renewal programs that destroyed black neighborhoods and concentrated those displaced into adjacent poverty areas. Working in a long tradition of sociologists since the Chicago School, Wilson seems to argue that problems of the poor come from a subculture with inappropriate values (see Fitch, 1996, p. 3).

In much social science research on societal problems there is a strong tendency to develop interpretations that do not deal centrally with racism or class exploitation and thus that are less likely to alienate elite interests that use and fund much of social science research. Wallerstein has suggested that there are only two possible languages for explaining inequality within a capitalist system--the view that some are born of nobler birth, which does not work well in modern states with legal equality as official doctrine, and the view that all have equal opportunity but some do not use their inherent abilities. A culturally oriented interpretation of inequality "provides the only acceptable legitimation of the reality of large-scale collective inequalities within the ideological constraints of the capitalist world-economy" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 87). Those with low social status are there because of their cultural heritage. "They come from a group that is somehow less oriented to rational thinking, less disciplined in its work ethic, less desirous of educational and/or earned achievement" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 88). Much of the research of the Chicago School and of its descendants in modern sociology uses sophisticated versions of this common rationalization of inequality.

I do not have the space here to deal much with recentering sociological theory in regard to white domination, but let me suggest a few possibilities here in regard to racial oppression and cities. Du Bois offers some insights in this regard. His work on Africa and African Americans shows the impact and importance of bringing formerly marginalized issues to the center of research analysis. In my view an adequate sociological theory of urban development in the United States must bring white domination to the center of this inquiry. Racial segregation is not an impersonal phenomenon naturally arising in cities but rather is shaped directly by white agents working diligently to create this pattern. Racial segregation is the foundation feature of U.S. urban settlements. From the beginning whites, particularly the powerful, intentionally constructed racial segregation, exploitation, and discrimination inside and outside cities in order to serve significant white interests.

In the African American case specific agents took action to create the hegemonic system: slaveholders, shippers, and overseers in the slavery period; and white business elites, politicians, and workers since the end of slavery. Exploitation and segregation are still central to this racist system. Over nearly 400 years African Americans--first as slaves, and since then as segregated and underpaid workers--have contributed at least a trillion dollars in uncompensated labor to build up U.S. cities, and U.S. society, into a condition of great wealth and prominence. In addition to this uncompensated labor, African Americans (and other people of color) have had to contend with the many other harsh realities of racial degradation. Today, racial domination still serves the interests of most white Americans, and a major theoretical reconceptualization of its role at the center of the U.S. and other Western societies is necessary if sociology is to be relevant to the 21st century.

Conclusion

The demographic trend toward a new majority of Americans of color presents a threat to white domination in the United States. Dramatic changes are coming at a time of persisting racial oppression and inequality as well as persisting class oppression and inequality. Not only is the racial cleavage in the U.S. large and growing in several areas, but also the income share of the

bottom fifth of the population has decreased from one sixth of that of the top fifth in the late 1960s to about one tenth today. Metaphorically, one can think of the racial-ethnic population and related social changes as a railroad train headed down a track at a fast pace. Ahead on that same track is another train labeled white racial domination, one headed in the opposite direction. A major train wreck appears to be imminent.

Clearly, in the near future there will be major social and political changes in the United States. How fast these changes will come is hard to predict, yet as I have suggested certain transformations seem likely. Over the next few decades demographic changes will likely end white dominance of numerous political, juridical, and public school systems in many cities and several states (e.g., California, Texas, Florida, New York). Democratic institutions, such as universal suffrage and the peer-jury system, can no longer be relied upon by whites to maintain domination. The new majority of Americans of color will be less likely to acquiesce in continuing white discrimination and oppression. In many areas of the U.S. we are likely to see social upheaval, including demonstrations and uprisings. Because of the demographic changes whites are under ever increasing pressure to desegregate institutions and redistribute resources.

However, today, most white leaders and rank-and-file whites do not seem inclined to desegregate institutions or redistribute resources. It is possible that threatened whites will react to the demographic changes in increasingly repressive ways. U.S. whites may devise new types of political exclusion such as new literacy tests or poll taxes, or they may seek to exclude non-European immigrants as was the case before the 1960s (see Feagin, forthcoming). Today many whites are moving into gated communities and private suburban enclaves and schools, and many are moving out of high-immigration cities and states. One possible scenario for the U.S. future may be racial-ethnic partitions like those in the former Yugoslavia. Or perhaps a majority of whites will decide to create a more violent system like the old South Africa with its highly repressive, but ultimately unstable, apartheid and white-minority rule.

Large-scale balkanization poses serious long-term problems not only for Americans of color but also for whites. Balkanization creates its own conflicts and instabilities. Moreover, living in all-white enclaves will not prepare whites for a world composed mostly of people of color. During the 21st century it seems quite possible that nations like Japan, China, and India will become much more powerful economically and politically on the world scene. Most whites' lack of interest in destroying racial oppression and creating multicultural societies, and a multicultural world, puts whites of European descent into an increasingly untenable situation in the long run. Turtle-like isolation will become an even more serious handicap for these whites over the course of the 21st century as they become a smaller and, likely, less powerful group on the global scene.

Bibliography

Applebome, P. (1997), "Schools See Re-emergence of 'Separate but Equal'" *New York Times*, April 8, A10.

- Bernstein, R. (1994), *Dictatorship of Virtue: Multiculturalism and the Battle for America's Future*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Bobo L. and S. A. Suh (1995), "Surveying Racial Discrimination: Analyses from a Multiethnic Labor Market," unpublished research report, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Brimelow, P. (1995), *Alien Nation: Common Sense about America's Immigration Disaster*, New York: Random House.
- Coser, L. (1992), "Introduction," in M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-34.
- Essed, P. (1991), *Understanding Everyday Racism*, Newbury Park: Sage.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1965 [1946]), *The World and Africa*, New York: International Publishers.
- Dye, T. (1986), *Who's Running America?* Fourth edition, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Fair Housing Council of Fresno County. (1995), "Audit Uncovers Blatant discrimination against Hispanics, African Americans and Families with Children in Fresno County," press release, October 6.
- Feagin, J. R. (Forthcoming). *The New Urban Paradigm*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Feagin, J. R. And H. Vera (1995), *White Racism: The Basics*, New York: Routledge.
- Feagin, J. R., H. Vera, and B. Zsembik (1995), "Multiculturalism: A Democratic Basis for American Society," in G. Ritzer (ed.), *Primis*, New York: McGraw-Hill, n.p.
- Feagin, J. R. and P. Batur-Vanderlippe (1996), "The Globalization of Racism and Antiracism: France, South Africa and the United States," unpublished research paper, Department of Sociology, University of Florida.
- Fitch, B. (1996), "The Case of the Disappearing Work," *In These Times*, December 9-22, 32.
- Fitzgerald, F. S. (1983), *The Great Gatsby*, New York: Penguin Books.
- Frey, W. H. (1997), "Domestic and Immigrant Migrants: Where Do They Go?" *Current*, January, 22.
- Frey, W. H. and J. Tilove (1995), "Immigrants In, Native Whites Out," *New York Times*, August 20, Section 6, 44.
- Gist, N. P. and S. F. Fava (1974), *Urban Society*, Sixth Edition; New York: Crowell.

- Glass Ceiling Commission (1995), *Good for Business: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital*, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Grant, Madison (1916), *The Passing of the Great Race*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Logan, J. R. and H. L. Molotch (1987), *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Maharidge, D. (1996), *The Coming White Minority: California's Eruptions and the Nation's Future*, New York: Time Books.
- Massey, D. S. and N. A. Denton (1993), *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Murdock, S. H. (1995), *An America Challenged: Population Change and the Future of the United States*, Boulder: Westview.
- Myrdal, G. (1964 [1944]), *An American Dilemma*, Volume 2, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Page, C. (1991), "U.S. Media Should Stop Abetting Intolerance," *Toronto Star*, December 27, A27.
- Park, R. E. (1918), "Education in Its Relation to the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures: With Special Reference to the Problems of the Immigrant, the Negro, and Missions," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*. Volume 13.
- Park, R. E., E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie (1925), *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Schlesinger, A. (1991), *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society*, New York: Norton.
- Schwendinger, H. and J. Schwendinger (1974), *The Sociologists of the Chair: A Radical Analysis of the Formative Years of North American Sociology (1883-1922)*, New York: Basic Books.
- Turner, M. A., M. Fix, and R. J. Struyk (1991), *Opportunities Denied: Discrimination in Hiring*, Washington, DC, Urban Institute Report 91-9, August.
- Turner, M. A., R. J. Struyk, and J. Yinger (1991), *Housing Discrimination Study: Synthesis*, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Van den Berghe, P. L. (1981), "Racism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th edition, Volume 15, 360-366.

Wallerstein, I. (1991), *Unthinking Social Science: The Limits of Nineteenth-Century Paradigms*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wilkerson, I. (1992), "The Tallest Fence: Feelings on Race in a White Neighborhood," *New York Times*, June 21, 1992, Section 1, 18.

Willhelm, S. M. (1970), *Who Needs the Negro?* Cambridge: Schenkman.

Wilson, W. J. (1996), *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Young, I. (1990), *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zukin, S. (1995), *The Cultures of Cities*, London: Blackwell.

(NOTE: The following two pages were provided by Dr. Feagin as a handout for his presentation.)

THE COMING RACIAL CHANGES: THE 21ST CENTURY

POINT:

Racist attitudes and discrimination on the part of whites remain widespread in the United States. Signals from white leaders and citizens are not favorable for substantial racial desegregation and redistribution of resources. Whites are reacting in embattled ways: developing more suburban facilities, gated communities, and private school systems and security forces.

White racial domination (aka white racism) encompasses the white attitudes, emotions, ideologies, practices, and institutions integral to the long-term domination of people of color. At the heart of this domination are socially organized practices of whites that deny people of color the dignity, opportunities, spaces, positions, and privileges available to whites. Anti-minority discrimination is motivated by white prejudices and is usually rooted in deep emotions and imbedded in major institutions.

Racist attitudes are widespread today. Most whites admit they hold racist images of people of color, particularly African Americans. In one 1990s ADL survey, evaluating eight antiblack stereotypes, including "prefer to accept welfare" and have "less native intelligence," three quarters of whites agreed with one or more; 55 percent agreed with two or more; 30 percent, with four or more. Many surveys confirm this pattern.

White racism is rooted in emotions. A white businessperson: [About adult child dating black person?]: "I'd be sick to my stomach. I would feel like, that I failed along the way. I'd probably take a lot of the blame for that. I would feel like probably I failed out on the job along the way or they would not have those tendencies to do that. I'd feel like I probably failed as a father, if that was to happen. And it's something that I could never accept. I would probably be in big time trouble over that. It would truly be a problem in my family because I could never handle that, and I don't know what would happen because I couldn't handle that, ever."

Discrimination is widespread. A 1994 Los Angeles survey of 1,000 African Americans found: in last year six in ten had faced workplace discrimination, mostly from whites, such as being refused a job because of their race. In a federal survey involving 3,800 audits in 25 metropolitan areas black renters faced discriminatory treatment about half the time, while black homeseekers faced discriminatory treatment fifty-nine percent of the time in encounters with whites. Several 1995-1997 audit studies in Fresno, New Orleans, San Antonio, Washington, DC, and Montgomery found rates of 60-80 percent discrimination in housing for black testers (52-78 percent for Latino testers).

Black owner of consulting business: I have a contract right now with a city government; and I practically gave my services away. I had to become very creative. I wanted the contract because I know I could do the work, and I have the background and the track record to do it. In negotiating the contract, they wanted to give it to all these other people who never had any experience, simply because they're a big eight accounting firm, or they're some big time institution. So, I had to compete against those people. But it was good because it proved that I could be competitive, I could give a competitive price, and I could finally win a contract. But it was a struggle. And, after the evaluation panel had made a decision that I had the highest points, the best management program, and the track record, they recommended me. And they took it back to their department. And the director of their department made a very racial statement, that "they were very sick and tired of these niggers and these other minorities because what they think is that they can come in here and run a business. None of them are qualified to run a business, especially the niggers."

Racism is sustained by the white male elite: In November 1996, the New York Times covered what some Texaco executives reportedly said: "The tapes, in which the executives are heard referring to black employees as 'black jelly beans' and [possibly] 'niggers,' raises the stakes in the discrimination suit brought against Texaco by six company employees on behalf of as many as 1,500 other minority employees." The employees report Texaco "systematically discriminates against minority employees in promotions, and has fostered a racially hostile environment." (K. Eichenwald, "Texaco Executives, On Tape, Discussed Impeding a Bias Suit," New York Times, November 4, 1996).

White men hold the top positions in major economic, political, educational organizations. A 1980s study: 20 black people and 318 non-black women in the 7,314 most powerful positions. Still the reality. In late 1990s about 95 percent of the holders of top corporate positions (vice president up) are white men.

COUNTERPOINT:

The future of the United States will be much more multicultural and multiracial. Major challenges to white domination are arising from large-scale population and political changes. Whites of European descent are a decreasing fifth of the world's population and constitute a decreasing proportion of U.S. population. Whites are a statistical minority in four of the five largest U.S. cities—including New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago--and in larger areas such as New Mexico, Hawaii, and the southern parts of Florida, Texas, and California. If current migration and birth rates continue, about the year 2002 whites will become a minority of California's population; about 2010, a minority of Texas' population; between 2015 and 2040, a minority of the population in Arizona, New York, Nevada, Florida, New Jersey, and some other states; and about 2050, a minority of the U.S. population. By about 2035 a majority of youth under the age of nineteen will be youth of color. According to recent Census Bureau middle-scenario projections in the year 2050 the U.S. population will be about 383 million, with just under half, about 181 million, being Americans of color. By the late 2050s, if the rate of growth does not decrease, Americans of European descent will be the statistical minority.

These demographic changes have significant social, economic, and political implications, most of which have not yet been probed by social scientists. No later than 2040 the U.S. educational system will be predominantly composed of students of color; this has major implications for the staffing, structure, and curriculum of schools. If the association between being a family of color and having a lower than average income does not change, the proportion of poor families will increase, as will economic and related inequalities across the color line. By the late 2050s or so a majority of the labor force will no longer be white, and the population and labor force will be older. The older retired population will have a majority of whites, while the younger working population will have a majority of workers of color. How will the latter feel about supporting elderly whites who have created and maintained a white-racist society? There will likely be a racial polarization in regard to other politicized issues such as English as the official language. White politicians who have strongly opposed legal immigration and affirmative action will not likely be elected when the majority of their constituencies becomes citizens of color. As voting constituencies change, it is likely that other things will change: the composition and character of juries and justice systems, of educational systems, of legislature and government agencies.

IS THERE TIME FOR CHANGE?

SOURCES: J. Feagin & H. Vera, White Racism (Routledge, 1995); J. Feagin & M. Sikes, Living with Racism (Beacon, 1994); J. Feagin, H. Vera, and N. Imani, The Agony of Education (Routledge, 1996).

1600

Invited Speaker

Dr. Arthur Gutman
Florida Institute of Technology

*Adverse Impact: Not Exactly What You Thought It Was*¹⁶

Abstract

The author pursues two lines of reasoning. First he believes there is confusion in court cases regarding the definition of adverse impact. Specifically, courts have intermixed the traditional adverse impact scenario (e.g., a test that produces disproportionate selection rates) with statistical disparities associated with Affirmative Action (e.g., disproportions in the work force vs. the labor pool) and/or pattern or practice (e.g. disproportions across job classifications within a company). Second, there is also confusion regarding the burden of defense in true adverse impact cases. The author believes there are at least three different adverse impact scenarios, each with different defense burdens. These include (1) the traditional scenario involving disproportions in selection rates as a function of standardized tests (which involves the job relatedness defense as originally envisioned in the Uniform Guidelines, altered by the Wards Cove ruling, and altered again in the Civil Rights Act of 1991); (2) disproportions in selection rates due to physical characteristics such as height and weight (which involves an even tougher defense much like the defense required for BFOQ); and (3) disproportions in selection rates due to historical factors such as educational requirements and other past or recent experiences (which involves a much milder defense similar to the one seen in traditional McDonnell-Burdine disparate treatment cases). The author concludes that not all statistical disparities in the work force imply adverse impact, and among those that do, there never was, never will be, and never should be a “one size fits all” defense burden.

¹⁶ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

Leadership and Gender within the Swedish Armed Forces

Anders W. Berggren

The Swedish National Defence College, Department of Leadership

Purposes:

- a) to describe the leadership, working climate, stress, etc., at the lower levels within the Armed Forces, using a male-female perspective.
- b) to question the use of biological sex as an explanation of leader behavior, and instead try a sibling-theory and the concept of “significant individual during the primary socialization” as a source of explanation regarding (for example) leadership style.
- c) to enlighten any possible differences in “interpersonal perception,” in terms of (for example) leadership, working climate, and efficiency.

Experiences of Female Officers

Ebbe Blomgren and Anders W. Berggren

The Swedish National Defence College, Department of Leadership

The aim of this project is to collect international data on experiences of female officers. The purpose is to get material for education and system development within the Swedish Armed Forces. We would be very glad if you could comment on the questions below from your country's perspective. We have three main questions :

1. System: on an official level, are there any restrictions/advantages which are related to gender?
2. Policy: is there a policy concerning female officers?
3. Experiences: what are the experiences of female officers?

***A Pilot Survey of Equal Opportunity Officers'
Opinions of Sexual Harassment Issues¹⁷***

G. E. Murray
Grambling State University

During 1996-97, several military sexual harassment issues were raised by the mass media. Eighty-two members of the active-duty Equal Opportunity Advisors Class 97-2 at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) completed a perception survey about this phenomenon. The same survey was administered to 84 members of a Reserve Component (Reserve and National Guard) class taking a two-week phase of the course. Respondents gave opinions of the high visibility of certain sexual harassment cases and possible effects on the military. Results are shown in the four tables presented on the poster.

***Hispanic Social Representation in the Army:
Can We Get There from Here?¹⁸***

J. C. Jones
United States Military Academy

Social representation in the United States Army is a concern of military and civilian leaders within the Department of Defense (DoD) and Congress. DoD agencies report that Hispanics are underrepresented in the Army. Since Hispanics will become the largest minority group in the near future, it makes sense to develop a comprehensive strategy aimed at increasing their representation. Because of several sociocultural factors, a challenge for the Army is to identify the qualified applicant pool. Ramifications of this issue are discussed.

¹⁷ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

¹⁸ (same as footnote above)

***Developing Better Equal Opportunity Advisors:
The Utilization of the Five Factor Model of Personality at DEOMI¹⁹***

Col Jose Bolton, USAF; CPT Eurydice Stanley, USA; & CDR Schuyler Webb, USN
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

DEOMI is investigating the use of the Five Factor Model of Personality instrument in its equal opportunity professional development programs. The instrument measures five factors: Negative Emotionality, Extraversion, Openness, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness. The purposes of the study are to (1) determine the personality profile of an effective EOA, (2) provide strategies to develop the maximal use of interpersonal resources, and (3) determine the benefit of self-discovery for students relative to their jobs. The first phase of research will develop a personality model/profile that will assist in the preparation of DEOMI students for future EOA assignments. Preliminary results will be presented and discussed. Future research using the Five Factor Model of Personality will be proposed.

¹⁹ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

Wednesday, December 3

0830

Invited Speaker

Dr. Mark Eitelberg
Naval Postgraduate School

*Women and Minorities in the Military:
Charting a Course for Research*²⁰

Abstract

This paper presents a brief review of several research projects in which the author participated during 1997. The projects include: a study of women and racial/ethnic minorities in the military's "officer pipeline"; a statistical assessment of the accession, assignment, retention, and career advancement of women in the military; a comparison of sexual harassment policies in the militaries of five nations; an evaluation of diversity management in the Navy; a study of attrition among women in the Navy; a study of attrition among twenty categories of racial/ethnic groups in the Navy; and three separate studies relating to the military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy. The author identifies a common set of research themes and suggests that these themes be employed as guideposts for future inquiry. The paper concludes with a capsule description of research, currently underway, on the following: linkages between a recruit's socioeconomic status and his or her performance in the military; the possible effects of military boot camp on early attrition among women; issues concerning civilian "following spouses" of female Naval officers; and "culture change in the fast lane."

This paper reviews a number of studies conducted in 1996 and 1997 by students and faculty in the Manpower Systems Analysis Curriculum at the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS).²¹ These studies share a common focus on women and minorities (singularly or together) in the military. They include the following: a statistical assessment of the accession, assignment, retention, and career advancement of women in the military; a study of women and racial/ethnic

²⁰ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and, unless otherwise indicated, do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense or any of its organizations.

²¹ This paper was prepared for the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) Equal Opportunity/Equal Employment Opportunity Research Symposium, Cocoa Beach, Florida, December 1997. The author participated—as either an advisor or researcher—in the studies discussed here. For further information, contact the author at the Department of Systems Management, Code SM/Eb, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA 93943. The e-mail address is as follows: meitelberg@nps.navy.mil.

minorities in the military's "officer pipeline"; a study of attrition among women in the Navy; a study of attrition among twenty categories of racial/ethnic groups in the Navy; an evaluation of diversity management in the Navy; a study of sexual harassment policies and programs in the militaries of five nations; and three studies relating to the U.S. military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy on homosexuals.

Additionally, this paper looks at three studies currently in progress at NPS: a study of possible linkages between a recruit's socioeconomic status and his or her performance in the military; an assessment of the bootcamp experience (as part of "progressive integration") for women in the Marine Corps; and an exploratory study of civilian "following spouses" of female officers in the Navy. The paper then summarizes the basic premise of a forthcoming article on understanding organizational "culture change" and its relationship to women and minorities in the military.

A common thread runs through all of the studies addressed here. That thread is one of both progress and hope for the future. Each study, in its own way, reveals a positive step in behalf of equal opportunity. At the same time, each study tends to point in the direction of continuing research for positive change in the years ahead.

Statistical Assessment of Women in the Military

A joint-service workshop was held at NPS in August 1996. It was convened by the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS), Subcommittee on Forces Utilization and Development. The workshop helped to design the basic content of a statistical report that was subsequently produced by the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) and NPS.²²

The statistical information in the report reveals several noteworthy trends regarding women in the military. As of 1996, proportionately more women were in the military than ever before—13 percent of active-duty personnel and 14 percent of reservists. As relatively more women enter the enlisted and officer "pipelines," correspondingly increased numbers are rising to senior positions of authority. An index of equality in promotions suggests remarkable fairness between men and women; and the greatest disparities, where found, tend to "favor" women.²³

²² Department of Defense, *Utilization of Women Indicator Report*, Draft Report (Monterey, CA: Defense Manpower Data Center and Naval Postgraduate School, September 1996). See also, Department of Defense, *Response to Request for Information, Standard Reporting Format* (Monterey, CA: Defense Manpower Data Center, December 1996).

²³ The *index of equality* has been used previously in studies of this nature. It examines average rank equality, comparing the average rank of men with that of women, controlling for occupation, education, length of service, racial/ethnic group, and marital status. The resulting ratio (weighted to reflect the number of women) is then a representation of men and women working in the same occupation, with equal education, length of service, and so on. A separate analysis focused on officers and enlisted personnel in higher grades. This was undertaken to test for possible "smoothing" of gender differences—because of virtually automatic promotions in lower grades, where personnel are more heavily concentrated. The results again showed little or no difference in average rank equality between women and men.

Proportionately more women have been enlisting in the Armed Forces as a whole—even though the “military propensity” of young women is considerably below that of their male counterparts.²⁴ In 1996, for example, women accounted for 26 percent of active-duty recruits in the Air Force and 21 percent of recruits in the Army—up from 19 percent and 14 percent, respectively, nine years earlier. On the other hand, female representation among newly-commissioned officers has apparently changed little over the period examined here.

The continuation rates of men and women in the active-duty force are generally similar by Service and officer or enlisted status.²⁵ Certain variations can be seen in different measures of continuation—but, on average, there are more similarities than differences between men and women up to typical retirement (twenty years). Continuation by women can also be evaluated by their use of voluntary separation incentives during the force drawdown. As it turns out, women took advantage of these incentives at about the same level as their representation in the force as a whole. Further, female personnel who remain in the military appear to advance educationally to a greater extent than do their male counterparts.

Male-female differences were found in average years of service at time of promotion. These particular differences tended to “favor” women in the officer corps (active duty) and “favor” men in the middle grades of the enlisted force. Promotion rates by gender further confuse the issue—showing higher rates for men within all grades of the officer corps except O-4 and higher rates for men in most enlisted grades.

Other indicators suggest that a number of “gender gaps” exist in the duration, condition, or nature of military service. Most notably, women are still concentrated in traditionally-female occupations—specifically, in health care and support/administration. Women are gaining entrance to a wider variety of jobs, but the proportions of female personnel in traditional fields have apparently changed very little over the years examined in the report. Occupational differences within the officer corps may help to explain why men and women are so unevenly distributed by sources of commission. At the same time, proportionately fewer women than men in the military are married or have dependents—suggesting, perhaps, gender-related differences in the personal life choices of military personnel. The first-term attrition rates of women in the enlisted force are considerably higher than of those men—largely due to the early separation of women who become pregnant. Female officers (grades O-4 and above) are less likely than their male counterparts to receive a joint-duty assignment, which is a critical step in advancement to the rank of general or admiral—but these disparities may be tied to long-standing differences between the occupational tracks of women and men. Finally, women appear less likely than men (by entry cohort) to stay in the active-duty military for ten, fifteen, or twenty years.

²⁴ The “propensity” of women to join the military—that is, those claiming (on a nationwide survey) to have a “definite” or “probable” chance of enlisting—has been stable at about 11 or 12 percent between 1986 and 1995. The “propensity” of young men has ranged from 24 to 30 percent over the same time period. There is a relatively greater discrepancy between young women and men on unaided mentions of interest in the military—2 percent for women, compared with 7 percent for men.

²⁵ The “continuation rate” is the number of persons on active duty at the end of a year divided by the number at the start of the year, computed by matching social security numbers in personnel files at both points. Continuation was also examined by years of service.

No attempt has been made to explore the causes or implications of the various trends revealed in this report. A vast amount of data is presented in the tables—compiled from Service sources by DMDC, and based on a plan developed at the DACOWITS-led workshop. The report marked a first, “quick-response” effort to create a new body of information on women in the military—information that could serve as a reference and guide for those who may wish to further study the subject.

The “Officer Pipeline” Study

The “Officer Pipeline” study was initiated at the request of Secretary of Defense William J. Perry in the fall of 1994. The primary objective of the effort was to study the flow of women and minorities into the officer corps and through its ranks—from recruitment and commissioning through the organization’s highest positions—and to recommend areas for improvement, if necessary. Specific areas of concern included the relatively low representation of women and minorities in the senior ranks of the officer corps, the relatively low representation of women in certain career tracks (such as aviation), and differing perceptions of the equal opportunity climate and fairness in promotions, evaluations, and assignments.

The final report of the “Pipeline” study is still in draft form, slowly winding its way through the approval process. It should be available to the public in early 1998. The draft report looks at the following: the demographic composition of the officer corps; officer recruitment, assignment, and career progression; officer performance evaluation and recognition; and equal opportunity perceptions and interventions. Generally, the report finds that racial/ethnic minorities and women have made substantial progress over the period of study; but, “there remains room for improvement,” and “more remains to be done.”²⁶ A discussion of specific results and recommendations awaits public release of the final report.

Female Attrition in the Navy

Numerous studies of enlisted attrition have been conducted since the draft ended in 1973. Many more studies will likely be undertaken in the coming years as well, since over one-third of all new recruits fail to complete their first term of service. This level of attrition has remained fairly constant for the past two or more decades, despite dramatic increases in the quality of new recruits and accumulated knowledge from many years of research devoted to the problem.

Several recent studies of gender differences in attrition reveal the following: women tend to have higher rates of first-term attrition than do men, but the differences in rates are primarily due to pregnancy-related factors; women are more likely than men to experience certain medical problems that lead to early discharge from the military; and women tend to experience lower rates of attrition than do men in certain occupational areas, such as support or shore-duty jobs in the Navy.

²⁶ Department of Defense, *Minorities and Women in the Officer Pipeline*, Draft Report (Washington, DC: Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, November 1996), p. 94.

This particular study focused on recruits who enlisted in the Navy from 1986 through 1990. These recruits were tracked over their first term of enlisted service with the aid of DMDC's cohort accession data file.²⁷ The study was especially interested in exploring gender differences that were related to job categories or the mix of men and women in Navy occupations.

The results of the study indicate that the official reasons for attrition (as recorded in Defense Department records) tend to be similar for men and women across Navy occupations, with two exceptions: pregnancy, as previously noted, and "alcohol/drugs," which is typically more prevalent for men. The data also show that the major reasons for attrition by women are similar in occupations that have relatively high rates of female attrition and those that have relatively low rates. Further, the primary reasons for female attrition in occupations with a high proportion of women (the so-called "traditional" jobs) are similar to the reasons for female attrition in occupations with a relatively low proportion of women.

Racial/Ethnic Groups and Attrition in the Navy

There is no shortage of research on the causes and correlates of personnel attrition from the military. Indeed, this area of research can trace its modern-day origins to the 1950s, when education and aptitude test scores were first linked in determining an applicant's qualifications for enlistment.²⁸ Personnel attrition is still one of the most studied—yet perplexing—aspects of the All-Volunteer Force.

Studies of first-term attrition traditionally compare personnel discharge rates across the usual demographic categories—such as gender, age, educational level, aptitude test scores, marital status, and race or ethnicity. Studies that include race or ethnicity, in turn, are usually limited to just a few major categories: white, black, Hispanic, and a catch-all "other," which combines small populations of Asians, Native Americans, and persons of various other backgrounds.

The present study compensates for the relatively small numbers of "other" racial and ethnic groups in annual cohorts of recruits by aggregating recruit populations from a ten-year period.²⁹ Specifically, data for the study consisted of longitudinal information (from DMDC's cohort accession file) on recruits who entered the Navy from 1983 through 1992. The study population—a total of more than 500,000 male enlisted personnel—was tracked over a 48-month period (e.g., recruits who entered the Navy in 1992 as of 1996). The attrition experiences of this population were then examined for three racial groups (white, black, and other), six racial/ethnic groups (white, black, Hispanic, North American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian, and unknown), and the following ethnic groups: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Latin American, other Hispanic

²⁷ Vicky D. Sealey, *Study of Attrition Among Enlisted Women in the Navy*, Master's Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

²⁸ See, for example, Mark J. Eitelberg, Janice H. Laurence, and Brian K. Waters, *Screening for Service* (Washington, DC: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense [Manpower, Installations, and Logistics], September 1984).

²⁹ Emilson M. Espiritu, *Study of First-Term Attrition Among Racial/Ethnic Minorities in the Navy*, Master's Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

descent, Aleutian, Eskimo, North American Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Filipino, Vietnamese, other Asian descent, Melanesian, Micronesian, Polynesian, other Pacific Islander descent, and other/unknown.

The results by ethnic group reveal that Asians had the lowest attrition rate—about 17 percent—which was almost half the rate for the Navy’s male recruits as a whole. Filipinos (who number 6,248 in the database) had the lowest attrition rate (13 percent) among Asian groups and all other ethnic groups (with the exception of Melanesians, who numbered just 51). Among the racial/ethnic groups, North-American Indians/Alaskan Natives had the highest attrition rate at 37 percent.

As previous research shows, Hispanic subgroups tend to differ somewhat with respect to their attrition experiences. Among Hispanics in the study population, Cubans had the highest attrition rate (35 percent), and Mexicans had the lowest rate (26 percent).

Overall, 21 percent of recruits in the study population were discharged from the Navy for failure to meet minimum behavior or performance criteria (which accounts for about 70 percent of all reasons for attrition). This compares with rates of 24 percent for blacks, 28 percent for North American Indians/Alaskan Natives, and 19 percent for Mexicans. Filipinos had the lowest attrition rate for reasons connected to behavior or performance—just about 8 percent.

The attrition experiences of racial and ethnic groups were also examined by several variables, including education and enlistment test scores. It is interesting to note here that controlling for “high quality” (a combination of education and aptitude test scores) sometimes led to different results for ethnic groups. Generally, “high quality” recruits had a lower rate of attrition than did their counterparts when examined by race or race/ethnicity. But, several ethnic groups—including Filipinos—did not follow this pattern.

This study underscores the importance of breaking down larger categories of racial or ethnic minorities into their component subgroups. As seen here, combining certain groups of minorities into large categories, such as “Asian” and “Hispanic,” can mask meaningful differences between the groups that compose these categories. Future research should thus seek to examine subgroups separately whenever possible. And, taken further, such research should seek to discover why certain ethnic groups—such as Filipinos—tend to have attrition rates that are so much lower than the average for their fellow recruits.

Diversity Management in the Navy

This study examines private and public efforts at managing diversity, using published research and case studies to identify the most effective strategies and techniques.³⁰ Managing diversity is defined generally as “a comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees”—an environment that allows an organization to “tap

³⁰ Cheryl D. Manning, *Managing Diversity in the United States Navy*, Master’s Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

the potential of all employees” and expands the notion of valuing diversity at all levels of the organization.³¹

The study assesses various approaches to diversity management, including multicultural organizational development (used by New Perspectives, Inc.), “high-performing inclusive organizations” (developed by Kaleel Jamison Consulting Group, Inc.), and the managing diversity model (used by the American Institute for Managing Diversity). Additionally, the study looks at approaches employed by Avon, Procter and Gamble, Xerox, the Environmental Protection Agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps.

The author recommends using a “total systems change” approach—a long-term process for organizational change—to manage diversity. This approach focuses on the organization in its entirety, the individual, and interpersonal relationships, as well as the organization’s systems, policies, and practices. Thus, an organization must first design a plan for total systems change, if it lacks one. Then, it can proceed to develop an improved diversity management strategy, meaningful training programs, and feedback procedures to evaluate the effectiveness of its training and longer-term outcomes.

Sexual Harassment Policies and Programs in TTCP Countries

This study evaluates sexual harassment policies and programs in the militaries of nations in The Technical Cooperation Program (TTCP). TTCP is a consortium of defense scientists from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. The study of sexual harassment was conducted as a cooperative effort of the TTCP panel on “Military Human Resources Issues” (officially designated as Technical Panel HUM-TP3).³²

More specifically, the study looks at the following topics: the background surrounding sexual harassment in each of the countries, including initial recognition of problems or issues, associated watershed events, and the role of women in the nation’s military; each country’s national and military sexual harassment policies; sexual harassment training and associated programs, assessment groups, measurement instruments, and the scope of sexual harassment; common themes across the countries; and highlights of the most effective programs. On the last topic, the study identifies several exemplar approaches—including the so-called “umbrella approach” employed by both the New Zealand and Canadian militaries. This approach treats sexual harassment as one of many forms of harassment. It is of key importance, since sexual harassment is actually a subset of gender harassment, which demands a more comprehensive treatment in policies, programs, and training. Another area of note is the Support Harassment and Racism Prevention (SHARP) program introduced by the Canadian Forces. Sharp is recognized in the study for its unique mission, approach, and method of implementation. The Canadian Forces are also recognized for their positive efforts at changing the military culture. Additionally, the

³¹ The quotation is from R. Roosevelt Thomas, *Redefining Diversity* (Atlanta: American Management Association, 1996), as cited in *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

³² Darlene R. Bennett, *Sexual Harassment Policies and Programs in the Militaries of TTCP Countries*, Master’s Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, June 1997).

study singles out the U.S. Navy's Command Managed Equal Opportunity (CMEO) program for its "unique preemptive approach to managing sexual harassment and other equal opportunity issues."³³ Finally, the study emphasizes the importance of a well-conducted investigation, as evidenced in Australia, Canada, and New Zealand; and it discusses the need for further efforts at ensuring accountability, using mentoring and support groups, and improving the informal complaint process.

The study identifies several areas that are considered "critical" in eliminating sexual harassment. These areas are drawn from the "lessons learned" in TTCP countries as well as from the positive results of exemplar approaches. Thus, the author recommends that greater efforts be taken as follows: first and foremost, evoke culture change; expand the focus of sexual harassment to include all types of harassment; further strive to improve training; use prevention measures and conduct regular assessments of the command climate; ensure that program guidelines are clearly communicated, service members are held accountable for their actions, and that the accountability process is periodically inspected; improve questionnaires and other data-gathering procedures; centralize data collection and track informal and formal complaints; and use top-level study groups to underscore the importance of programs and to pinpoint necessary courses of action.

Gays in the U.S. Military: Three Studies

A minority group can be defined as a number of "persons who share the experiences of being objects of discrimination, exclusion, and persecution by members of non-minority groups who hold ethnocentric beliefs and stereotypes."³⁴ As Sarbin observes, sexual orientation has been identified as a feature of a minority group in areas of our society, most notably through legislation that guarantees to homosexuals equal access to housing and jobs in certain jurisdictions.³⁵ The recent debate over the U.S. military's ban on gays—along with the resulting policy of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" and trends in the militaries other nations—suggests that homosexuals may one day achieve the protected status of a minority within the military. Sarbin sees "minority" as the latest social construction of homosexuality—preceded by homosexuality as a sin, a crime, and a sickness, each of which endures to some extent in society and among those who guide military policy.

Three studies of note were undertaken at NPS on the subject of homosexuals in the military:

1. A survey of the attitudes of Naval officers toward homosexuals and officers' levels of understanding regarding the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy.³⁶

³³ Ibid., pp. 193-194.

³⁴ From Theodore R. Sarbin, "The Deconstruction of Stereotypes: Homosexuals and Military Policy," in G. M. Herek, J. B. Jobe, and R. M. Carney, eds., *Out in Force: Sexual Orientation and the Military* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 180.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Margaret R. Friery, *Trends in Navy Officer Attitudes Toward the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Policy*, Master's Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

2. A study of the possible effects of the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy on unit cohesion.³⁷
3. A study of the possible influence of a service member’s religious values and understanding of church teachings on his or her acceptance of gays in the military.³⁸

The first study replicated a survey that was administered in 1994 at NPS, so that any shifts in attitudes or understanding could be compared over time. It involved two phases: a 50-question, structured survey distributed to all Naval officers attending NPS; and focus group interviews to explore issues raised in the surveys. The results suggested that officers were even more uncertain in 1996 than in 1994 (when the previous survey was administered) about basic elements of the policy; and officers tended to evaluate the policy in pragmatic terms, balancing mission requirements against individual needs. Further, most officers in the two samples held negative attitudes about serving with homosexuals—but the intensity of their feelings appeared “softer” in the later survey.

The second study similarly examined the attitudes and opinions of Naval officers toward the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy—but attempted to focus more specifically on aspects of unit cohesion, rather than on general feelings. A series of seven focus group interviews revealed that Naval officers (in early or mid-career) may be far more tolerant toward differing sexual preferences than is currently assumed. There is still a strong sentiment that homosexuals may disrupt the cohesion of military units; but there is a clear lack of agreement on what constitutes the root causes of the disruption—and virtually no experiential data in recent times supporting the claim, since military policy excludes “known” homosexuals. Indeed, some officers felt that the military’s present method of dealing with homosexuals is detrimental to unit cohesion. The policy is intended to protect unit cohesion, but it actually supports the stereotypes (e.g., regarding intolerant heterosexuals and predatory gays) that make cohesion so difficult to achieve. Military personnel are essentially *instructed* by the policy that heterosexuals and known homosexuals cannot work side-by-side. The author drew three general conclusions from the interviews: (a) there was little evidence to support the contention that homosexuals weaken unit cohesion; (b) a homosexual’s identity is often defined solely by his or her sexual orientation, and heterosexuals tend to believe that they do not share the same values, goals, and experiences with homosexuals; and, (c) a lack of privacy on Naval vessels leads to feelings of discomfort among heterosexuals, which tends to outweigh concerns about unit cohesion. As the author concludes: “In the end, then, ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ is only an artificial protection. Real protection of unit cohesion will be achieved if the stereotypes supporting the ban are broken. And these stereotypes will only be broken if the military allows an opportunity for the ‘contact theory’ to work.” (It is important to note here that this study, as well as the surveys conducted in 1994 and 1996, evidenced support for the “contact theory” or “contact hypothesis.” The “contact hypothesis” states that intergroup

³⁷ Theresa M. Rea, *Unit Cohesion and the Military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” Policy*, Master’s Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

³⁸ Michael A. Peterson, *Homosexuality, Morality, and Military Policy*, Master’s Thesis (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, March 1997).

prejudice or hostility can be reduced by personal contact between groups that share or pursue a common goal.³⁹⁾

The third study broke important, new ground—not only with respect to the U.S. military’s policy on gays, but regarding any policy that a service member may perceive as involving a “moral” issue. The author looked specifically at whether personal religious beliefs may influence a service member’s response to such policies. The study began with a review of the religious heritage of the U.S., the First Amendment to the Constitution, and the history of military policies toward gays. The author then described the religious demographics of the active-duty military and assessed the doctrines on homosexuality of the largest denominations represented in the U.S. military. Finally, he evaluated the expressed moral beliefs of active-duty service members regarding homosexuality (using extant data from three surveys).

The primary conclusion of the study was that opposition by service members to the integration of homosexuals in the U.S. military is likely influenced by teachings of the dominant Christian faiths. This conclusion, as the author observes, suggests that the nation’s decision makers should weigh the importance of religion and associated personal beliefs on organizational effectiveness when considering a policy that may involve a “moral” issue.

Research in Progress

Four studies, currently underway at NPS, may be of interest to the community of scholars and practitioners in equal opportunity/equal employment opportunity. The largest research effort is a study of the relationships between a new recruit’s socioeconomic status (SES) and his or her performance in the military over time. Questions concerning the SES origins of recruits have been raised for decades—dating at least as far back as the Vietnam-era draft. When an end to the draft was first proposed in the late 1960s, a great deal of debate centered on the very same issue. For example, people asked: would an all-volunteer military become an “army of the poor”; would a draft-free system tend to attract the hard-core unemployed, the labor-market rejects of society; would the military become an “employer of last resort”; and, would the burdens of defense be placed unfairly on the shoulders of America’s poor—as the Civil War slogan said, with “rich men’s money and poor men’s blood”?

The Department of Defense is required by Congress to assess population representation in the military, and it prepares a lengthy report each year that looks at a variety of demographic variables. The Defense Department also conducts an annual survey (the “Survey of Recruit Socioeconomic Backgrounds”) of new recruits regarding their SES origins. This survey was first administered in March 1989, and the results of the survey have since become a fixed part of the annual report on population representation. The results of the survey continue to show that recruits come from all levels of SES; however, they tend to be concentrated in the lower three-

³⁹ Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1954). This is discussed in Gregory M. Herek, “Why Tell if You’re Not Asked? Self-Disclosure, Intergroup Contact, and Heterosexuals’ Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men,” in Herek, Jobe, and Carney, eds., *Out in Force*, pp. 213-217. As Herek notes, most research in this area has looked at interethnic and interracial prejudice; but, it is reasonable to assume that the “contact hypothesis” can be applied to attitudes and groups based on sexual orientation.

quarters of the SES distribution. In fact, today's recruits are often characterized as being over-representative of "middle America," drawn heavily from "average" SES brackets.

The study of SES linkages with performance involves merging the SES survey results with DMDC's enlisted cohort files (which tracks recruits longitudinally). This allows researchers to examine the service careers and military performance of the SES survey population over time. There are approximately 14,000 respondents (active duty recruits) for each annual survey—providing a total sample size of over 100,000, with some respondents having as many as 8 years of service since the time they were surveyed. Measures of performance include items currently available in the DMDC database (e.g., first-term attrition, time-to-promotion, reenlistment eligibility, etc.), as well as service-specific measures, such as fitness report scores, skill qualification scores, disciplinary cases, and other variables.

The results of the study are likely to be of general interest, well beyond the community of military researchers. It should also be noted that the study focuses more on recruiting and enlistment policies of "selecting in" as opposed to "selecting out." That is, it seeks to identify "at risk" individuals with the intent of devising innovative strategies that would help these young men and women succeed in military service. The study is scheduled for completion in March 1998.

Another, more modest research effort seeks to assess the effects on women of gender segregation in Marine Corps bootcamp. Segregation of men and women at this point of Marine Corps training is part of a master plan called "progressive integration." This study involves interviews with women Marines prior to bootcamp, during bootcamp, and one year after bootcamp. Research only covers the period since the Marine Corps first initiated the "crucible" as part of initial training. The study will be finished by March 1998.

The military family of today has become increasingly removed from the classic, traditional arrangement of yesteryear. For example, in dual-parent households, more and more men are taking on the role of the "following spouse," sometimes assuming the position of "Mr. Mom," or primary care-giver for young children. A newly-initiated study at NPS seeks to describe this trend and identify related issues such as spousal satisfaction with military life and the possible effects of "role reversal" on the retention of women in the military. The study uses extant data, including information from Defense Department surveys, as well as interviews with both men and women in this type of military family. The results of the study will be published in March 1998.

A fourth study, which is still in a very preliminary stage, seeks to understand the long-term consequences of "diversity" policies on organizations. In particular, the study explores possible problems that develop when the promises and expectations for immediate change go unfulfilled—and when attempts at rapid change confront the barriers of an organization's prevailing and conflicting culture. A recent shift in "reinventing government" strategies serves as a focal point of the research. The study also highlights the importance of maintaining a strong sense of history.

Summary Comment

This paper reviews a number of studies, some of which are still in progress. All of the completed studies provide some direction for further research. All point to continuing issues of concern for equal opportunity and equal employment opportunity. All studies demonstrate that there have been positive changes in behalf of equal opportunity and a military that values the diversity of its membership. And all provide some hope for a future that will be better than the past.

The studies that are summarized here also emphasize the importance of taking the long view, of seeking to gain historical perspective. Surely, one cannot fully appreciate the present—for its gains as well as lingering problems—until it has been properly weighed against the past. History can be the Great Teacher, as we separate the myth from reality, value the efforts of those who preceded us, and recognize that progress toward equal opportunity has indeed occurred within the military in our time. But it is likewise important that progress not be used as an excuse for inaction—because progress requires even more diligence, so that two steps forward, one step back does not become one step forward, two steps back. History, too, is replete with examples of apathy and neglect among leaders who believe that they have somehow triumphed over a problem and that progress, once achieved, is a force of its own. This is where *research* can help, as it sheds light on unsettled areas, points the way to possible solutions, and raises awareness of the need for positive change.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Readers who are interested in the details of these studies and related research at the Naval Postgraduate School should contact Professor Mark Eitelberg in the Department of Systems Management. Readers are also encouraged to convey their comments and ideas for future research, especially projects that may be suitable for a Master's thesis.

Paper Session B

EO Climate and Work Group Issues

*The Effects of Percentage of Diversity upon Work Group Effectiveness*⁴¹

Stephen B. Knouse
University of Southwestern Louisiana

Abstract

This paper examines the effects of percentage of work group diversity categories (gender, minority, and disabled) upon measures of group effectiveness (commitment, overall effectiveness, satisfaction, cohesion, trust, equal opportunity climate, and quality) taken from the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey Test Version 3.1 (MEOCS-EEO). Results are discussed in terms of expanded measures of diversity and team development of diverse work groups.

Diversity management is a prominent issue in both the private and public sectors (e.g., Cox, 1993; Griggs & Louw, 1993). Theoretically, a diverse workforce should supply a rich array of different ideas to bear on organizational problems. Such a workforce should produce higher quality work because it brings a broader set of perspectives, approaches, and ideas to bear on problem solving (Cox, 1993). Moreover, a diverse workforce should better understand and be able to deal with varied demands and expectations of a diversified customer base (Knouse & Chretien, 1996).

As much work occurs in groups or teams (e.g., staff meetings, project teams, quality teams), there is a particular interest in how diversity affects work groups. Theoretically, diversity should enhance group decision making. It should bring broader perspectives to the problem at hand as well as a greater pool of potential solutions to examine, and a greater variety of criteria with which to evaluate possible solutions (Knouse & Chretien, 1996; Milliken & Martins, 1966). At the same time, diversity may have a detrimental effect on group performance because the perceived similarities and commonalities among group members that are required for cohesion to develop are not present (Mullen & Cooper, 1994). In addition, a work group of diverse members may exhibit a focus upon subgroup identities, with exclusionary communication and even open bias toward others (Larkey, 1996).

⁴¹The views expressed here are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the DoD.

A key factor is how much diversity is present in the work group (i.e., the percentage of diversity in the group). This can be approached from two directions. What is the effect of a larger percentage of diversity upon the group, and what is the effect of a significant minority subgroup? The former involves the common in-group social identity of group members (Brewer, 1995; i.e., a greater percentage diversity may influence how the individual relates to the group versus the diversity subgroup). Theoretically, there are two opposing stances predicting an effect (Tolbert, Andrews, & Simons, 1995). Social contact theory poses that a larger percentage allows more contact and thus more opportunity to explore commonalities. Hence greater diversity eventually produces greater group cohesion and concomitant effects, such as greater group effectiveness. Competition theory, however, predicts that a larger percentage diversity produces stronger competition among subgroups for status, power, scarce resources, and control of the group. A larger proportion of a subgroup thus leads to less cohesion and effectiveness.

The other side of the issue is the effect of a significant minority. A number of studies have identified what appears to be an optimal level of minority status in a group at around 10 - 20% of the group membership. This has been variously labeled “psychological minority phenomenon” (Davis, 1980), “critical mass” (Kanter, 1977), or a “representative minority” (Izraeli, 1983). At this level, the majority of the group appears to feel comfortable with the minority subgroup. In terms of competition theory, there would be little perceived threat from this percentage level for the subgroup.

The present study examined how diversity percentages and mixes within the group affect indicators of group performance (commitment, group effectiveness, satisfaction, cohesion, trust, equal opportunity climate, and quality). Specifically, how do increasing percentages of diversity subgroup membership (e.g., women, minorities, disabled) in work groups affect the performance of the group? In addition, does the type of diverse subgroup (gender, minority, and disabled) produce differential effects?

Method

Database

At the time of the analysis, there were 11,968 cases in the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS-EEO) Test Version 3.1 database. In terms of military services, respondents were 35% Air Force, 44% Army, and the remainder in the other services. Active duty military organizations comprised 51% of the sample, DoD civilian organizations 35%, and guard and reserve organizations 4%. Military personnel comprised 48% of the respondents: 10% officers, 35% enlisted, and 3% warrant officer. Of the civilian personnel, 34% were GS, 3% GM, and 10% WG and WS.

In terms of respondent background characteristics, a majority were male (60%). The sample was racially and ethnically mixed with 18% African American, 8% Hispanic, 59% white, 3% Native American, and 4% Asian American. Respondents were fairly well educated with 16% possessing a high school diploma or less, 42% some college, 20% a college degree, and 20% graduate work. Respondents were fairly young with 15% age 25 or younger, 15% age 26 to 30, 30% age 31 to 40, 23% age 41 to 50, and 14% over age 50.

MEOCS-EEO Test Version 3.1

The MEOCS-EEO Test Version 3.1 was developed in 1994 to survey DoD organizations and has been administered in the field from 1994 through the present. This version consists of 132 items divided into seven parts: critical incident discriminatory behaviors, feelings about the organization, effectiveness of work group, satisfaction, individual beliefs about discrimination issues, discriminatory climates, and demographics. From these items a number of scales were developed. In the present study the following were used:

Scale 6 Organizational Commitment: a function of six organizational items tapping values, pride, loyalty, longevity, policies, and the best interests of the individual.

Scale 7 Work Group Effectiveness: a function of five work group effectiveness items measuring quantity and quality of work group output, priorities, resources, and performance.

Scale 8 Job Satisfaction: a function of six satisfaction items tapping helping people, effort, family recognition and pride, job security, acquiring valuable skills, and job as a whole.

Scale 9 Work Group Cohesion: a function of four work group effectiveness items tapping team work, pulling together, member caring, and member trust.

Scale 10 Leader Cohesion: a function of four work group effectiveness items measuring leader teamwork, leader pulling together, leader caring, and leader trust.

Scale 11 Trust in the Organization: a function of four climate items representing organizational values, organizational loyalty to members, organizational pride in its members, and concern about the bottom line versus its members.

Scale 12 Overall EO Climate: a function of two demographic section items rating EO climate of the organization by most people and by the individual.

Scale 16 Total Quality Programs: a function of three work group effectiveness items tapping work group orientation toward satisfying internal and external customer needs, work group empowerment to make decisions to improve quality, and work group striving toward continuous quality improvement.

In addition, three demographic items asked the percentage of various types of membership (women, minority, and disabled) in the respondent's work group ("people with whom you interact routinely on your job"). Each item had a six point scale categorizing percentages as 0-10%, 11-30%, 31-50%, 51-70%, 71-90%, and 91-100%. The present study treated these three items as indicators of work group diversity.

Results

Analyses of variance examined the effects of the diversity measures on the other variables. Multivariate analyses of variance were significant for all four diversity variables, $F(16, 19540) = 4.82, 12.22, 20.89, \text{ and } 8.24$, for women, minority, disabled, and age, respectively. Table 1 shows the main effects for each type of diversity for the organizational and effectiveness variables. In general, the highest rated perceptions occurred for 11-30% diversity with a decline with higher levels of diversity. For the disabled category, however, as disabled percentage increased in the group, perceptions of organizational affect and effectiveness declined in a linear manner.

Two way interactions demonstrated that the combinations of women and minorities affected organizational variables (commitment, trust, and EO climate), cohesion variables (group

Table 1

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF MEOCS-EEO WORK GROUP SCALE MEANS BY DIVERSITY VARIABLES

Diversity Variable	Percentage in Work Group							
Organizational Commitment (Scale 6)								
	<u>0-10</u>	<u>11-30</u>	<u>31-50</u>	<u>51-70</u>	<u>71-90</u>	<u>91-100</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>
Women	3.14	3.27	3.30	3.27	3.11	3.04	5,10924	20.18***
SD	(0.85)	(0.85)	(0.80)	(0.82)	(0.85)	(0.88)		
Minorities	3.19	3.31	3.23	3.14	3.01	2.96	5,10911	22.33***
SD	(0.86)	(0.83)	(0.83)	(0.85)	(0.82)	(0.80)		
Disabled	3.23	3.22	3.07	3.04	2.99	3.07	5,10910	5.88***
SD	(0.85)	(0.81)	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.73)	(0.64)		
Work Group Effectiveness (Scale 7)								
Women	4.03	4.11	4.07	4.01	3.91	3.94	5,11334	8.86***
SD	(0.93)	(0.88)	(0.92)	(0.97)	(1.05)	(0.96)		
Minorities	4.08	4.13	4.05	3.92	3.71	3.81	5,11328	31.90***
SD	(0.92)	(0.86)	(0.92)	(0.98)	(1.14)	(1.09)		
Disabled	4.09	3.99	3.55	3.10	2.84	3.69	5,11321	102.60***
SD	(0.90)	(0.94)	(0.98)	(1.13)	(1.37)	(1.11)		

Job Satisfaction (Scale 8)

	<u>0-10</u>	<u>11-30</u>	<u>31-50</u>	<u>51-70</u>	<u>71-90</u>	<u>91-100</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>
Women	3.64	3.69	3.69	3.66	3.54	3.62	5,11223	5.74***
SD	(0.87)	(0.85)	(0.86)	(0.89)	(0.93)	(0.82)		
Minorities	3.67	3.70	3.67	3.61	3.43	3.61	5,11219	12.19***
SD	(0.87)	(0.83)	(0.86)	(0.89)	(0.97)	(0.93)		
Disabled	3.70	3.57	3.34	3.04	2.63	3.53	5,11213	63.66***
SD	(0.85)	(0.89)	(0.84)	(0.91)	(1.12)	(1.07)		

Work Group Cohesion (Scale 9)

Women	3.79	3.89	3.84	3.72	3.54	3.55	5,11353	23.13***
SD	(1.04)	(1.00)	(1.04)	(1.11)	(1.22)	(1.15)		
Minorities	3.79	3.89	3.81	3.65	3.41	3.45	5,11348	32.46***
SD	(1.09)	(0.99)	(1.03)	(1.11)	(1.26)	(1.25)		
Disabled	3.83	3.73	3.44	2.93	2.75	3.26	5,11345	54.43***
SD	(1.04)	(1.07)	(1.03)	(1.12)	(1.32)	(1.18)		

Leader Cohesion (Scale 10)

Women	3.21	3.30	3.28	3.20	2.97	3.03	5,11284	15.37***
SD	(1.17)	(1.17)	(1.15)	(1.56)	(1.20)	(1.25)		
Minorities	3.22	3.31	3.22	3.12	2.94	3.00	5,11276	15.39***
SD	(1.21)	(1.14)	(1.16)	(1.16)	(1.23)	(1.30)		
Disabled	3.25	3.13	3.02	2.87	2.42	2.97	5,11275	16.78***
SD	(1.18)	(1.17)	(1.03)	(1.00)	(1.27)	(1.30)		

Trust in the Organization (Scale 11)

Women	3.05	3.21	3.18	3.09	2.87	2.85	5,11083	27.55***
SD	(1.01)	(1.02)	(0.98)	(1.00)	(1.02)	(1.00)		
Minorities	3.09	3.19	3.12	3.00	2.79	2.85	5,11076	24.29***
SD	(1.01)	(1.00)	(1.01)	(0.98)	(1.01)	(0.97)		
Disabled	3.12	3.09	2.96	2.90	2.74	2.71	5,11068	6.22***
SD	(1.02)	(1.01)	(0.77)	(0.72)	(0.99)	(0.78)		

Overall EO Climate (Scale 12)

	<u>0-10</u>	<u>11-30</u>	<u>31-50</u>	<u>51-70</u>	<u>71-90</u>	<u>91-100</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>
Women	3.34	3.48	3.46	3.36	3.19	3.05	5,11435	25.52***
SD	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.06)	(1.05)	(1.15)	(1.17)		
Minorities	3.16	3.52	3.45	3.30	3.12	2.91	5,11423	46.34***
SD	(1.17)	(1.05)	(1.05)	(1.08)	(1.19)	(1.19)		
Disabled	3.40	3.24	3.01	3.34	3.51	3.10	5,11424	14.63***
SD	(1.10)	(1.16)	(0.92)	(0.94)	(1.18)	(1.21)		

Total Quality (Scale 16)

Women	3.88	3.97	3.94	3.86	3.74	3.89	5,11407	9.37***
SD	(0.99)	(0.95)	(0.96)	(1.00)	(1.08)	(1.02)		
Minorities	3.96	3.97	3.90	3.80	3.62	3.74	5,11402	20.24***
SD	(0.98)	(0.93)	(0.97)	(1.02)	(1.18)	(1.12)		
Disabled	3.95	3.86	3.48	3.03	2.73	3.58	5,11396	78.94***
SD	(0.96)	(1.00)	(1.04)	(1.19)	(1.36)	(1.14)		

Sample Sizes

Women	3075	2627	2657	1585	935	615
Minorities	2050	3572	3427	1608	660	181
Disabled	9809	1009	434	178	100	32

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

and leader cohesion), and group effectiveness and total quality. Disabled in combination with other diversity types affected several variables. These trends may be slight due to small sample sizes in the larger percentage diversity categories. The three and four way interactions were nonsignificant.

Discussion

The results show that a smaller amount of diversity (subgroup = 11-30% of group) appears to be optimal. As the mix exceeds 30%, however, perceptions of group effectiveness decline. This supports the “psychological minority phenomena” (Davis, 1980) or “critical mass” (Kanter, 1977) concept identified in the literature--a small proportion of diversity is not only tolerated but may be encouraged. At the same time, however, the alternative concept of competition appears to be in play as higher levels of diversity appear to influence decreasing perceptions of effectiveness.

Apparently, as the proportion of a minority (or female representation) increases in a work group there is a potential for tension and conflict. Further research should delineate how this conflict arises and can be controlled. One prominent factor is status and accompanying power differentials. Groups that contain powerful higher status minorities or women tend to have less conflict than those with less powerful members of subgroups (Tolbert, et al., 1995). Other factors that may be significant are the cultural environment of the organization (e.g., degree of tolerance for diversity) and task competence of the subgroup members (e.g., more task capable minorities or women may have higher status or perceived value in the group) (Levine & Moreland, 1995).

The exception is the disabled category, which exhibits an almost linear decline as percentage increases, without evincing the critical mass increased “blip” that other diversity subgroups manifest at 11-30%. It should be noted, however, that the higher percentages of disabled had much smaller sample sizes, which could possibly be distorting the data. Future research should further examine whether an increasing proportion of disabled in the group truly does depress group effectiveness (or at least the perception of it by group members). If this effect holds, special team building training may be necessary so that groups containing disabled members may be able to function more effectively. Such training may involve changing not only how the nondisabled members react to the disabled, but also how the each party (disabled and nondisabled) react to each other in terms of beliefs, reactions, and job performance expectations (Stone & Colella, 1996).

Further research should also examine other facets of diversity besides demographic background traits. Diversity in terms of ability levels, experience, attitudes, values, and personality should be investigated (McGrath, Berdahl, & Arrow, 1995; Milliken & Martins, 1996; Triandis, 1995; Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1995). Effort should be placed into arriving at some overall measure of diversity incorporating physical, ability, and psychological aspects. The effects of diversity are most likely be a complex function of these various traits interacting rather than working separately (Tolbert et al., 1995). For example, the diversity advantage of wider perspectives and a greater pool of ideas is perhaps a function of not only a person’s background as a minority or a woman but also how their ability, experience, and values come into play in the role of minority or female.

Finally, work group development (i.e., team building) should take group diversity into account (Ferdman & Brody, 1996; Gardenschwartz & Rowe, 1993). By identifying shared values among subgroups (e.g., quality of work, improvement of the organization, and orientation toward serving the customer), but at the same time acknowledging the importance of the individual, the diversity advantages of enhanced perspective and broader approaches may be maximized, while the diversity disadvantages of subgroup focus, power differentials, and distorted communications might be minimized (Knouse & Chretien, 1996). In other words, team building for diverse groups must walk a fine line between strengthening cohesion among the various subgroups while at the same time emphasizing the unique contribution of the individual to the group effort.

References

- Brewer, M. (1995). Managing diversity: The role of social identities. In S. E. Jackson & M. N. Ruderman (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams: Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 47-68). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Cox, T. (1993). *Cultural diversity in organizations: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Davis, L. (1980). When the majority is in the psychological minority. *Group Psychotherapy, Psychodrama, and Sociometry*, 33, 179-184.
- Ferdman, B. M., & Brody, S. E. (1996). Models of diversity training. In D. Landis & R. S. Bhagat, *Handbook of intercultural training*, (pp. 282-303). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gardenschwartz, L., & Rowe, A. (1993). *Managing diversity*. New York: Irwin.
- Griggs, L. B., & Louw, L. (1995). *Valuing diversity*. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Izraeli, D. (1983). Sex effects or structural effects? An empirical test of Kanter's theory of proportions. *Social Forces*, 62, 153-165.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). Some effect of proportions on group life. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 965-990.
- Knouse, S. B., & Chretien, D. (1996). Workforce diversity and TQM. In S. B. Knouse, (Ed.), *Human resources management perspectives on TQM: Concepts and practices*, (pp. 261-274). Milwaukee: American Society for Quality Control Press.
- Larkey, L. K. (1996). Toward a theory of communicative interactions in culturally diverse workgroups. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 463-491.
- Levine, J. M., & Moreland, R. I. (1995). Group processes. In A. Tesser (Ed.), *Advanced social psychology* (pp. 261-274). New York: McGraw Hill.
- McGrath, J. E., Berdahl, J. L., & Arrow, H. (1995). Traits, expectations, culture, and clout: The dynamics of diversity in work groups. In S. E. Jackson, & M. N. Ruderman, (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams: Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 17-46). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Milliken, F. J., & Martins, L. L. (1996). Searching for common threads: Understanding the multiple effects of diversity in organizational groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 21, 402-433.

- Mullen, B., & Cooper, C. (1994). The relation between group cohesion and performance: An integration. *Psychological Bulletin*, 115, 210-227.
- Stone, D. L., & Colella, A. (1996). A model of factors affecting the treatment of disabled individuals in organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 352-406.
- Tolbert, P. S., Andrews, A. O., & Simons, T. (1995). The effects of group proportions on group dynamics. In S. E. Jackson & M. N. Ruderman (Eds.), *Diversity in work teams: Research paradigms for a changing workplace* (pp. 131-159). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995). A theoretical framework for the study of diversity. In M. M. Chemers, S. Oskamp, & M. A. Costanzo, (Eds.), *Diversity in organizations*, (pp. 11-36). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Triandis, H. C., Kurowski, L. L., & Gelfand, M. J. (1994). Workplace diversity. In H. C. Triandis, M. D. Dunnette, & L. M. Hough, (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology*, (pp. 769-827), Vol 4, 2nd Ed. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

An Empirical Study of Discriminatory Climates and Work Group Functioning⁴²

Robert E. Niebuhr & Michael J. Masterson
Auburn University

Katherine E. Niebuhr
University of Montevallo

Stephen B. Knouse
University of Southwestern Louisiana

Abstract

Survey data was collected from more than 1000 subjects to evaluate the relationships between discriminatory climates (sexism, racism) and both group cohesion and group performance. Structural equation modeling confirmed the hypothesized relationship between these discriminatory climates and work group outcomes. The impact of gender and racial bias was also examined.

⁴² The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense.

Cohesiveness is a key concept in social research. Social researchers have defined cohesiveness in a variety of ways: “tendency for a group to be united in the pursuit of its goals” (Carron, 1982, p. 124), commitment to the group (Cartwright & Zander, 1968), and, more subjectively, a “we feeling” of emotional climate (Vraa, 1974). However, personal animosities among group members can be debilitating because they generate friction. In a recent meta-analysis of literature, Mullen and Copper (1994) found that commitment to the group task is the critical component in group cohesiveness.

Work groups are becoming more racially, ethnically, and gender diverse, and the influence of workforce diversity on group dynamics is complex. On the one hand, diverse (or heterogeneous) groups may require more time and effort to resolve individual differences in perspectives and approaches to problems. Diversity may inhibit cohesiveness because group members can find fewer commonalities upon which to build mutual goals and supportiveness. For example, Terborg, Castore, and DeNinno (1976) found that groups with less similar attitudes among members reported less cohesiveness than did groups whose members exhibited similar attitudes. Conversely, these differences actually may produce more creative decisions (Thornburg, 1991) and allow the group to deal more effectively with complex problems that require critical analysis and innovative solutions (McCleod, Lobel, & Cox, 1992). Two factors, racism and sexism, can produce discriminatory climates in work groups and have been shown to be intercorrelated and related to such variables as lower cognitive sophistication and anti-egalitarianism (Sidanius, 1993).

Several meta-analyses have explored the relationship of cohesiveness and performance. Oliver (1988) found a mean r of .32 with 14 military and civilian field studies, while Evans and Dion (1991) reported a reliability corrected mean r of .42 for 16 field and experimental studies. Recently, Mullen & Copper (1994) provided the most ambitious effort to date with a review of 49 studies. Among their findings was evidence for the bidirectionality of cohesiveness and performance. In addition, their meta-analysis demonstrated that certain factors influenced the cohesiveness-performance relations, such as group size, real groups, and task commitment. The most recent meta-analysis by Gully, Devine, and Whitney (1995) found similar overall results (corrected r = .32 for 46 studies) but also examined differences due to level of analysis (group versus individual) and task interdependence.

The purpose of the present study was to explore the relationships between discriminatory climates within work groups, cohesiveness, and performance in naturally occurring work groups. This exploration also includes a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of the theoretically modeled relationship between discriminatory climates and group outcomes. This model includes the latent variable discriminatory climate (DC) extracted from the variables sexism and racism, and the latent variable group function (GF) extracted from the variables cohesion and group performance. This model will be referred to as the DC/GF model. Also, the convergent and discriminant validities of this a priori specified DC/GF model were examined. While the relationship between discriminatory climates and group outcomes has not been specifically studied, theoretical models on attitude dissimilarity suggest a negative relationship between discrimination (as a negative attitude) and group cohesiveness and performance (Terborg, et al., 1976).

Method

Subjects

The data for this study included responses from a sample of 1128 subjects from an active-duty military unit located in the U.S. The average age of the respondents was 26.5 years, 97.5% were male, and 51.6% identified themselves as White. Anonymity of responses was guaranteed.

Measures

Discriminatory Climates. The measures of gender discrimination (sexism) and racial discrimination (racism) were obtained from the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS) (Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993). These scales have been used with more than 300,000 subjects and consist of six behavioral incident items each, rated by the respondents on a five-point response set detailing the probability of the behavior occurring in their work unit.

Group Cohesiveness. The respondents completed a four-item peer cohesion instrument developed by Siebold & Lindsay (1994), the scale focusing on the “attraction to the group” and “commitment to the group task” criteria emphasized by Mudrack (1989) in a review of the cohesion measurement literature. Factor analysis confirmed that the factor structure of the instrument was unidimensional.

Group Performance. The three-item group performance scale evaluated perceived quality and quantity of group output.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics, reliabilities (in parentheses), and correlations for the data. The reliabilities for sexism and racism are consistent with those obtained in the development of the original MEOCS instrument (Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among the Study Variables

Variable	Means	Standard Deviations	Correlations			
			Sexism	Racism	Cohesion	Perf.
Sexism	3.94	0.99	(0.88)			
Racism	3.26	1.03	0.50**	(0.85)		
Cohesion	3.40	1.05	-0.23**	-0.27**	(0.90)	
Perf.	2.32	1.04	-0.16**	-0.21**	-0.51**	(0.78)

* $p < .01$; ** $p < .001$

Results

As shown in Table 1, the correlations among the study variables were significant, thus supporting the hypothesis that the presence of discriminatory climates would be negatively related to group functioning (i.e., group cohesion and performance). Partial correlations among racism, sexism, cohesion, and performance, controlling for overall job satisfaction, were also significant. The correlation between group cohesiveness and group performance ($r = .51$) is consistent with the mean r 's found in the recent meta-analyses of cohesion and group performance studies (Gully, Devine, & Whitney, 1995; Mullen & Copper, 1994; Evans & Dion, 1991; Oliver, 1988).

For this study, four confirmatory factory analysis (CFA) models were fitted:

*Model 1:	null model	(Figure 1)
*Model 2:	one general trait	(Figure 2)
*Model 3:	two uncorrelated factors (traits)	(Figure 3)
*Model 4:	two correlated factors (traits)	(Figure 4)

Proceeding from model 1 to model 4, each model is less restricted, meaning that additional specific parameters are allowed to be estimated in the model (Widaman, 1985).

Convergent and discriminant validity were evaluated following the procedures outlined by Widaman (1985) and Bagozzi and Yi (1990). All confirmatory factor analyses and figures were accomplished using the EQS statistical software package, both in a mainframe environment and the current EQS/Windows (5.2) program (Bentler, 1995; Bentler & Wu, 1995). For a full explanation of the goodness-of-fit indices used in this study, see Bollen (1989) and Bentler (1995, pp. 92-94). Convergent validity occurs when a measure correlates highly with other variables that should measure the same construct while discriminant validity occurs when a measure fails to correlate highly with measures of different, distinct constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955).

Convergent Validity

The convergent validity of the DC/GF model was assessed in two ways. First, model 1 (null) was compared with model 3 (uncorrelated traits) to see if the addition of traits significantly improved model fit (Bagozzi and Yi, 1990; p. 554). Second, because convergent validity results when a trait loading on a measure is statistically significant, the trait-item loadings (from model 4 --correlated traits) were examined (Bagozzi and Yi, 1990).

The χ^2 difference test between model 1 and model 3 was significant for this study. The χ^2 difference was 663.7 with 4 df ($p < .001$). All trait-item loadings for the a priori specified DC/GF model (see model 4) were significant ($p < .001$).

The significant χ^2 difference of model 3 over model 1 suggests that the addition of trait factors to the null model results in a significantly better fit for this data set. In addition, the significant trait-item loadings in the a priori specified DC/GF model provide evidence of convergent validity among the two traits of the DC/GF model.

Model 1: Null Model

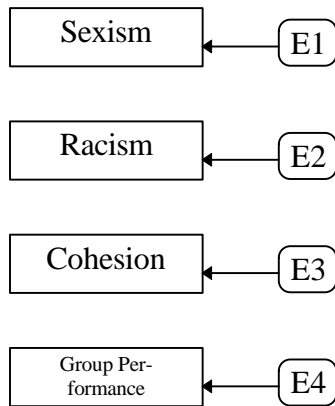


Figure 1. Model 1: Null model indicating no relationships among the study variables.

Model 2: One General Trait

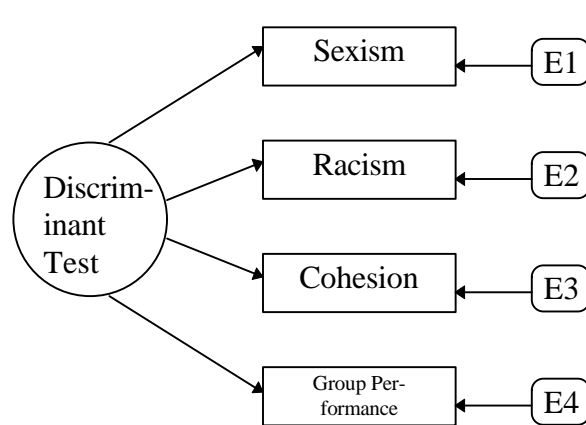


Figure 2. Model 2: One general trait (factor) related to all four study variables .

Model 3: Two Uncorrelated Factors

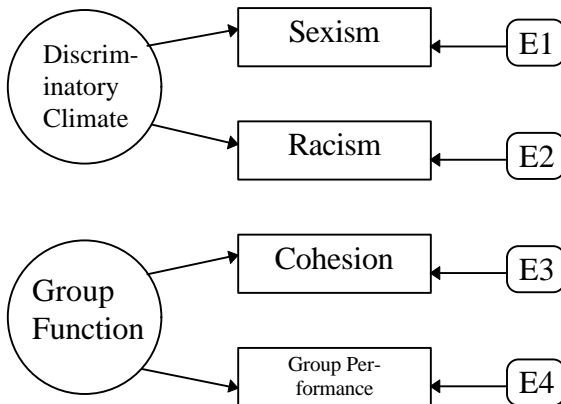


Figure 3. Model 3: Two uncorrelated traits (factors) related separately to the study variables.

Model 4: Correlated Factors

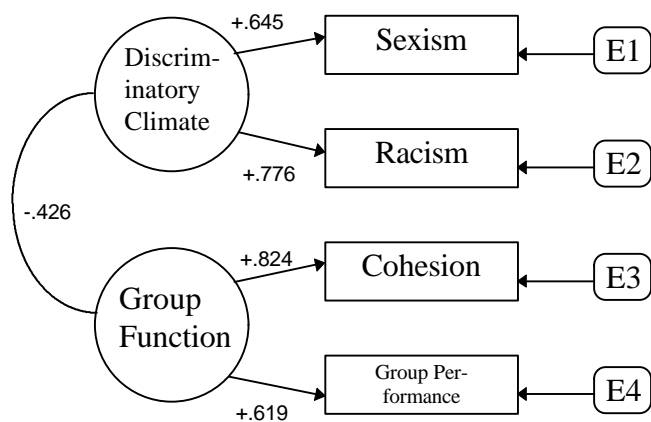


Figure 4. Model 4: Two correlated traits (factors) related to the study variables (shown with factor loadings).

Discriminant Validity

The discriminant validity of the DC/GF model was assessed in two ways. First, model 2 (one general trait) was compared with model 3 (uncorrelated traits) to determine if the addition of distinct traits improved the fit of the model (Schmitt & Stults, 1986; Widaman, 1986). Model 2 constrains all intertrait correlations to 1.00 while model 3 allows two distinct, uncorrelated traits to be estimated. A perfect correlation between two latent variables means that it is impossible to empirically discriminate or distinguish between the variables. A significantly better fit of model 3

over model 2 suggests that the intertrait correlations are not equal to 1.00. In addition, a further improvement in model fit from model 3 to model 4 (correlated traits) suggests the traits for the DC/GF model will intercorrelate. Second, the correlations among traits and their standard errors were examined. Discriminant validity among traits is attained when an intertrait correlation is less than 1.00 by an amount greater than twice the standard error (Bagozzi and Yi, 1990).

The χ^2 difference test between model 2 and model 3 was significant for this study. The χ^2 difference was 123.6 with 1 df ($p < .001$). The χ^2 difference test between model 3 and model 4 was also significant. The χ^2 difference was 108.2 with 1 df ($p < .001$). Further, the intertrait correlations in model 4 were less than 1.00 by more than twice their standard error providing additional evidence of discriminant validity among the two traits of the DC/GF model.

Table 2
Goodness of Fit Indices for the CFA Models

	X^2 (df)	X^2 /df	NFI	NNFI	GFI	AGFI	CFI	RMSR	SRMR
Null model	772.50 (6)	128.80							
Model 2	232.40 (2)	116.20	.699	0.098	0.907	.534	0.699	.116	.110
Model 3	108.80 (2)	54.40	.859	0.582	0.956	.780	0.861	.148	.132
Model 4	000.58 (1)	00.58	.999	1.003	1.000	.997	1.000	.004	.004

Table 3
Factor Loading for Model 4 in Study

	Loading	Square of Loading (R^2)
DiscCl (F1) to Sexism (V1)	.645	.416
DiscCl (F1) to Racism (V2)	.776	.602
GroupFunc (F2) to Cohesion (V3)	.824	.679
GroupFunc (F2) to GroupPerf (V4)	.619	.383

Table 2 shows the goodness-of-fit indices for the four CFA models in this study. In assessing the DC/GF model, the first piece of evidence is the overall fit of model 4, the a priori

specified construct. Model 4 exceeds all standards for goodness-of-fit indices, including χ^2 value, which is not significant in this study. All trait-item loadings are significant ($p < .001$) (see Table 3).

The square of the trait-item loadings is the proportion of variance (R^2) accounted for by the latent constructs influencing the items. The R^2 value can be used to estimate the reliability of each item, with R^2 values above .50 suggesting acceptable reliability (Bollen, 1989). Using Bollen's criterion, two of the four items in this study appear to be reliable, meaning that the traits are unable to explain 50% of the variance of two items in the study. However, Bagozzi and Yi (1990) use a more relaxed criterion, stating that if a loading is greater than twice the value of its standard error, then it is significant, and the variance explained by the latent construct is significant. Using this criterion, all of the items demonstrate adequate reliability.

The CFA study provides favorable results, suggesting the two traits of the DC/GF model demonstrate two important aspects of construct validity: convergent and discriminant validity. A clear depiction of the DC/GF model, with loadings, is shown in Figure 4.

Discussion

The analysis of the data supports the hypothesized relationship between discriminatory climates and group cohesiveness. While a number of antecedent factors to group cohesiveness (Lott & Lott, 1965) and to racism and sexism (Sidanius, 1993) have been examined, a further analysis of the data suggests that gender and race of group members may also be important. Analyses of variance for the influence of respondents' race and gender on cohesion and performance found a significant effect of race on cohesiveness while gender did not have a significant influence. A second set of analyses of variance examined gender and race difference as factors affecting the two discriminatory climates. The non-white group perceived greater racism than did the white group. Likewise, females perceived greater sexism in the environment than did males. It has been suggested that those in a position of less power may be more sensitive to discrimination of any type (Niebuhr & Oswald, 1991). This study did support this view, the data indicating that females perceived greater racism climates than did males, and non-whites perceived greater sexism than did whites.

These two post-study analyses support the antecedent variables of group demographics influencing group outcomes. The data only allowed for category comparisons (race and gender across work groups) rather than comparisons of race and gender within groups. While the sexual harassment literature has extensively examined the question of gender mix (Gutek, Cohen, & Konrad, 1990; Gutek & Morasch, 1982; Niebuhr & Boyles, 1991), there has been little research concerning gender mix in the cohesiveness area. Siebold and Lindsay (1994) did examine data from a military sample and found that the influence of group racial mix on perceptions of group cohesiveness had no effect. It could be argued, however, the Army platoons (their basic level of analysis) are too large for examining actual work group dynamics. Future research should address the race/gender demographics of small work units and how they relate to discriminatory behaviors, group cohesion, and performance.

In the present study, the survey data provided an interesting factor which might also be considered in creating a positive work environment. The survey asked if the respondent had a close friend of another race. An analysis of this difference indicated a significantly lower perception of racism for those having a friend of another race (versus those that did not have such a friend). Consequently, multiracial friendships both on and off the job may be a primary means of understanding and hence dealing with racism on the job.

The bi-directionality of the cohesion-performance relationship recently posited offers some possibilities for building cohesion in diverse work groups. For example, the strong performance to cohesiveness directionality indicated in the Mullen and Copper (1994) meta-analyses would support the idea that successful group performance may produce stronger interpersonal attraction and group pride, which in turn may lead to stronger cohesion. Conversely, early and persistent failures in group performance may lead to blame-placing on certain members with divergent views (e.g., minorities and females) and thus increase perceived racism and sexism. This would imply that early successes in group endeavors would be important for cohesion formation. Team building for diverse work groups should emphasize group work on short-duration tasks carrying a high probability of success early in the development of the group. As cohesion develops, more difficult tasks can then be attempted where the diverse talents of the group member mix can provide a greater pay off.

The next step in the validation of the model examined in this study would be cross-validation of this model with new data. Future studies should examine diverse cultural work environments and focus upon more objective measures of group performance. In addition, longitudinal studies are needed to refine the causal relationship between cohesion and performance. Given the changing demographics of our society, other discriminatory climates, such as age and disability, should also be explored. Organizational adaptation to these changing demographics requires the creation of organizational climates that are conducive to the acceptance of individuals who are “different” from the traditional employee.

In essence, managers who are trying to meld the seemingly opposing forces of diversity and cohesiveness should emphasize the complementary nature of different viewpoints among group members, rather than try to build cohesion by focusing upon narrow similarities held by all members. Diversity can then provide its “value added” benefits to group performance (Cox, 1993).

References

- Bagozzi, R. P., & Yi, Y. (1990). Assessing method variance in multitrait-multimethod matrices: The case of self-report affect and perceptions at work. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75(4), 547-560.
- Bentler, P. M. (1995). *EQS structural equations program manual*. Encino, CA: Multivariate Software.
- Bentler, P. M., & Wu, E. J. (1995). *EQS for windows user's guide*. Encino, CA: Multivariate Software.

- Carron, A. V. (1982). Cohesiveness in sport groups: Interpretations and considerations. Journal of Sport Psychology, 4, 123-138.
- Cartwright, D., & Zander, A. (1968). Group dynamics: Research and theory (3rd Ed.). New York: Harper and Row.
- Cronbach, L. J., & Meehl, P. E. (1955). Construct validity in psychological tests. Psychological Bulletin, 52, 281-302.
- Cox, T. C. (1993). Cultural diversity in organizations. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
- Evans, C. R., & Dion, K. L. (1991). Group cohesion and performance: A meta-analysis. Small Group Research, 22, 175-186.
- Gully, S. M., Devine, D. J., & Whitney, D. J. (1995). A meta-analysis of cohesion and performance: Effects of level of analysis and task interdependence. Small Group Research, 26, 497-520.
- Gutek, B. A., Cohen, A. G., & Konrad, A. M. (1990). Predicting social-sexual behavior at work: A contact hypothesis. Academy of Management Journal, 33, 560-577.
- Gutek, B. A., & Morasch, B. (1982). Sex-ratios, sex-role spillover, and sexual harassment at work. Journal of Social Issues, 38, 55-74.
- Henley, N. M., & Pincus, F. (1978). Interrelationship of sexist, racist, and anti-homosexual attitudes. Psychological Reports, 42, 83-90.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., & Faley, R. H. (1993). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey: An example of surveying in organizations. In R. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, & M. D. Thomas (Eds.), Improving organization surveys (pp. 210-239). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Lott, A. J., & Lott, B. E. (1965). Group cohesiveness as interpersonal attraction: A review of relationships with antecedents and consequent variables. Psychological Bulletin, 64, 259-309.
- McCleod, P., Lobel, S., & Cox, T. (1992). Ethnic diversity and creativity in small groups. Proceedings of the Academy of Management.
- Mudrack, P. E. (1989). Group cohesiveness and productivity: A closer look. Human Relations, 42, 771-785.
- Mullen, B., & Copper, C. (1994). The relation between group cohesiveness and performance: An integration. Psychological Bulletin, 115, 210-227.
- Niebuhr, R. E., & Boyles, W. (1991). Sexual harassment of military personnel. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 15, 445-457.
- Niebuhr, R. E., & Oswald, S. L. (1991). The relationship between workgroup composition and sexual harassment: An empirical study. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Management, San Francisco.
- Oliver, L. W. (1988). The relationship of group cohesion to group performance: A research integration attempt. TR 807. Alexandria, VA: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.

- Sidanius, J. (1993). The interface between racism and sexism. Journal of Psychology, 127, 311-332.
- Siebold, G. L., & Lindsay, T. J. (1994, August). The relation between soldier racial/ethnic group and perceived cohesion and motivation. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Los Angeles.
- Schmitt, N., & Stults, D. (1986). Methodological review: Analysis of multitrait-multimethod matrices. Applied Psychological Measurement, 10, 1-22.
- Terborg, J. R., Castore, C., & DeNinno, J. A. (1976). A longitudinal field investigation of the impact of group composition on group performance and cohesion. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 34, 782-790.
- Thornburg, T. H. (1991). Group size and member diversity influence on creative performance. Journal of Creative Behavior, 25, 324-333.
- Vraa, C. W. (1974). Emotional climate as a function of group composition. Small Group Behavior, 5, 105-120.
- Widaman, K. F. (1985). Hierarchically nested covariance structure models for multitrait-multimethod data. Applied Psychological Measurement, 9, 1-26.

***Variance in Responses to the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey:
Practical and Theoretical Issues⁴³***

Robert M. McIntyre & Simon A. Bartle
Old Dominion University

M. R. Dansby
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

Abstract

This study examined the variance and distributional differences between different demographic groups comprising the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey database. The premise was that distributional differences may have practical implications for interpretation of MEOCS results. Results indicated that differences between various demographic groups do exist. Discussion centered on the practical and theoretical value of considering variance in Equal Opportunity Climate Survey data.

Organizational climate involves a composite of the individual organizational members' perceptions of the meaning and importance of the various organizational conditions (see James, 1982; Naylor, Pritchard, & Ilgen, 1980 for reviews). In other words, organizational climate is

⁴³ The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense.

assessed in a step-wise fashion by first taking measurements at the individual unit of analysis and second making an inference about the organization (which is considered the level of theory). This stepwise assessment has some bearing on the interpretation of the measurement. First, individuals providing responses on some organizational climate instrument may display highly similar or widely disparate reactions to the organizational environment. If the reactions are highly similar, then it makes sense to think of their composite as an index of the organization itself. If the reactions are widely disparate, then it may be misleading to use a single central tendency composite (like the arithmetic mean or median) as a summary climate index of the variability about the mean. It therefore may be argued that one should avoid discussing organizational climate when there is a critical level of scatter in individual responses.

A second related point given the difference between unit of analysis and level of theory is that the customer of organizational climate surveys should be made aware of not only the *center of gravity* of the responses among organizational members (the mean or median) but also the variance of these responses. Given the popularity of the “total quality” movement in organizations, *variance* is not the foreign concept that it may have been in the past. Further, there are many ways of portraying variance--especially graphically--that bring the idea “down to earth.” The consideration of variance of climate survey data represents a relatively sophisticated treatment that brings the organizational customer to a higher plane in appreciating what is going on within the organization.

Third, having emphasized variance in responses to organizational climate questionnaires, the organizational researcher and consultant should attempt to explain the variation. After all, the existence of variation in behavioral phenomena is a primary reason why organizational science exists. If behaviors among organizational members were constant--that is, showing no variability, there wouldn't be a need for organizational science.

Fourth, one needs to consider variation in climate surveys within the general organization and across units comprising the organization before implementing interventions. An organization-wide intervention would be inappropriate for an organization in which only a small sample of its subgroups show signs of negative organizational climate. It is interesting that organizations often launch organization-wide campaigns in training or organizational development, for example, without regard to the locus of need or the variability of need within the organization.

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate the existence of variance of equal opportunity climate responses within the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey data base as well as variance differences across different ethnic groups. The goal was not to provide an exhaustive analysis of the topic but to demonstrate the existence of variance differences across subgroups and present some recommendations pertinent to the problem of variance and variance differences in climate survey data.

Method

Respondent sample

Random samples consisting of 1000 observations were drawn from the June 1997 version of the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey data base (consisting of more than 560,000 respondents) for the following ethnic groups: White, African-American, Native American, Hispanic, and Asian American.

Analytic strategy

For each of the ethnic-based samples, variance was computed for the 12 MEOCS scales. Comparison of variance estimates for the different ethnic groups was carried out by applying confidence interval procedures described by Glass and Hopkins (1996).

Finally, graphical presentations of the distributions for several scale scores were constructed to show the difference in variance between the ethnic groups for these scale scores.

Results

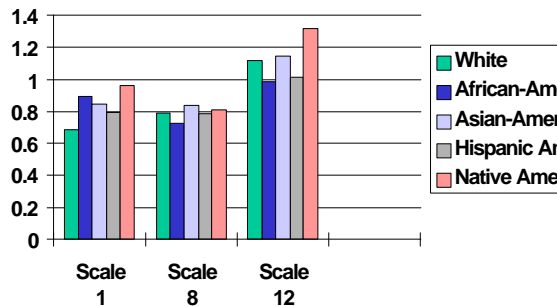
Table 1 presents the distributional characteristics (mean, variance, skewness, and kurtosis) for each scale for each ethnic subgroup. Application of the confidence interval procedure indicated that there are significant variance differences between the ethnic groups on many of the scales. Appendix I contains the results of all of the confidence interval computations.

Table 1
Variances, Skewness, and Kurtosis Values for Scales by Subgroup

	White			African American			Hispanic American			Asian American			Native American		
	Var	Skew	Kurt	Var	Skew	Kurt	Var	Skew	Kurt	Var	Skew	Kurt	Var	Skew	Kurt
Scale 1	.68	-.79	-.04	.89	-.37	-.82	.79	-.47	-.55	.85	-.29	-.88	.96	-.24	-.79
Scale 2	.44	-1.44	1.71	.85	-.49	-.38	.70	-.65	-.31	.78	-.47	-.58	.87	-.51	-.58
Scale 3	.66	-.78	.37	.63	-.15	-.36	.71	-.29	-.35	.72	-.30	-.26	.74	-.26	-.59
Scale 4	.66	-.88	.17	.83	-.48	-.61	.82	-.43	-.61	.75	-.35	-.55	.82	-.34	-.57
Scale 5	.66	-.76	.21	.54	-.54	-.20	.60	-.53	-.06	.71	-.47	-.23	.77	-.37	-.42
Scale 6	.81	-.45	-.36	.61	-.12	-.16	.61	-.14	-.09	.52	-.26	.49	.62	-.13	.03
Scale 7	.77	-.90	.37	.90	-.67	-.14	.91	-.51	-.51	.92	-.49	-.34	1.05	-.53	-.47
Scale 8	.79	-.55	-.13	.73	-.43	-.35	.79	-.40	-.35	.84	-.35	-.36	.81	-.29	-.37
Scale 9	.69	-.90	.41	.92	.10	-.39	.89	-.18	-.52	.81	.17	-.65	.93	-.13	-.69
Scale 10	1.13	-.123	-.82	.76	-.39	-.60	.85	-.33	-.30	.89	-.11	-.56	1.04	.08	-.65
Scale 11	.65	-1.23	1.02	.73	-.77	-.42	.79	-.90	.02	.89	-.36	-.78	1.00	-.38	-.74
Scale 12	1.12	-.38	-.34	.99	.04	-.17	1.01	-.09	-.34	1.14	-.08	-.61	1.32	.12	-.74

Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 demonstrate the difference between ethnic groups on variance and distributions of three different scales. These scales, Sexual Harassment and (Sex) Discrimination, Job Satisfaction, and Overall EO Climate, were drawn at random to demonstrate the effect. In Figures 2, 3, and 4 one can see how the variance differences correspond to different distributional differences. Similar phenomena can be demonstrated for the other nine scales.

Figure 1. Variance Difference for Scales 1 (Sexual Harassment & Discrimination), 8 (Job Satisfaction), and 12 (Overall EO Climate) Across Ethnic Groups



2. Distribution Differences Across Ethnic Groups For Scale 1 (Sexual Harassment & Discrimination)

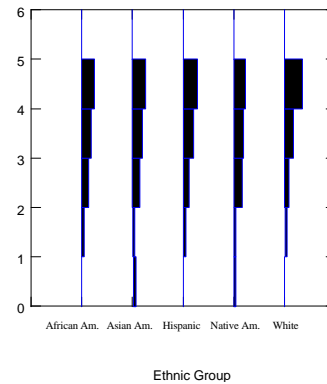


Figure 3. Distribution Differences Across Ethnic Groups For Scale 8 (Job Satisfaction)

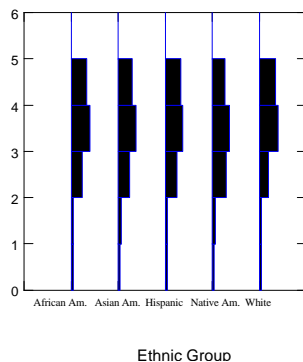
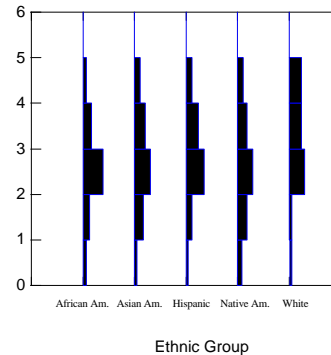


Figure 4. Distribution Differences Across Ethnic Groups For Scale 12 (Overall EO Climate)



Discussion

The results of this study demonstrate that there are indeed variance differences between the different ethnic groups. What are the practical and theoretical implications of variance differences between subgroups of a population?

The first implication requires one to recall that the MEOCS is an organizational climate assessment instrument (in this case EO Climate assessment). In dealing with climate, we are interested in entities above the single individual. Climate, in effect, is considered a characteristic of an organization that is assessed through the aggregation of responses of individuals comprising the organization. When climate survey responses are homogeneous across an organization--that

is, when there is substantial agreement among respondents on the survey--the climate construct is considered construct valid. In fact, homogeneity among group members is commonly considered a prerequisite for asserting that the construct applies to the group. Homogeneity of responses allows a particular group's score to be compared to another (Dansereau, Alutto, & Yammarino, 1984).

Philosophically and psychometrically, one might ask whether an aggregate score (the arithmetic mean, for example) is an apt representation of climate when there is substantial variation among responses comprising the aggregate. It therefore seems reasonable to examine whether survey response variance observed in the organization is large enough (greater than that attributable to measurement error) to threaten the construct validity of what has been called "EO Climate."

The second implication is related to the first. If there is substantial (that is, practically important) variance underlying aggregate scores in the equal opportunity climate survey data then what does the recipient of the data--for example the military unit commander--do with the scores or with the data? It would seem silly to disregard the scores from a MEOCS assessment simply because the "climate interpretation" is threatened due to unexpected or inordinate variation in responses. In effect, this second implication is that some thought must be given to how an organization should deal with substantial variation in the distribution of responses in a climate survey. Part of the variation is no doubt due to measurement error. As such it is relatively unimportant. However, part of it may represent real variation. It would seem highly practical for the organization (or in the case of the military, the military commander) to examine the real variation in an effort to explain it.

The third implication pertains to the differences in variation between the different ethnic groups. If such differences in variation exist between these different ethnic groups and between other demographic groups⁴⁴, then there may be practical reasons for understanding these variance differences. For example, if the White subgroup within an organization shows homogeneous response patterns to a particular MEOCS scale (that is, very low variation) but the African-American group shows heterogeneous responses, then it would seem important for the organization to recognize the existence of these variance differences and to attempt to understand the reasons for them. Furthermore, interventions might be designed on the basis of the variation that is found within a particular subgroup once the sources of the variation can be identified.

This study was carried out to examine the distributional differences between different subgroups comprising the MEOCS data base population. Variance differences were found across different ethnic subgroups. With regard to the differences in variation across subgroups, several questions can be posed:

1. What is the effect of variation of responses on the construct validity of the MEOCS itself as a **climate** assessment tool? This is not a new question for organizational

⁴⁴

There is preliminary evidence to suggest that variance differences exists between, for example, rank and sex groups.

climate assessment but one worthy of thought for the researchers investigating equal opportunity climate.

2. What constitutes meaningful variance in responses to the MEOCS? Although there is always **some** variation in climate or attitude assessment, it seems reasonable for researchers to identify practically important levels of variation. There are a variety of tools designed for this purpose. For example, Dansereau et al. (1984) have recommended within and between analysis (WABA). James, Demaree, and Wolf (1984) have recommended other strategies.
3. Would a report on difference in response variances across different subgroups of an organization (e.g., a military command) be useful to that organization receiving equal opportunity climate survey feedback? There are ways of intelligently and simply providing more information on variability of responses in various units. Identifying the **best way** of doing so would logically follow a review of literature on graphical presentation of quantitative data as well as a small scale study of the potential customers of the information.

Conclusion

Variation (expressed as “variance”) is an often overlooked characteristic of survey data. Yet, variance within entire organizations participating in an equal employment climate survey program (such as the MEOCS) and variance difference across subgroups may serve as extremely important information. Furthermore, ethnic subgroups are only an example of the loci of variation differences. There are other subgroups (e.g., rank, educational group, gender) that deserve similar attention. We believe that variation of survey responses should be an issue of concern in the survey feedback process. We also believe that variation in survey data can be clearly and meaningfully explained so that organizations receiving survey feedback can take advantage of the information.

References

- Dansereau, F., Alutto, J. A., & Yammarino, F. J. (1984). Theory testing in organizational behavior: The invariant approach. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- James, L. R. (1982). Aggregation bias in estimates of perceptual agreement. Journal of Applied Psychology, *67*, 219-229.
- James, L. R., Demaree, R. G., & Wolf, G. (1984). Estimating within-group interrater reliability with and without response bias. Journal of Applied Psychology, *69*, 85 - 98.
- Naylor, J. D., Pritchard, R. D., & Ilgen, D. R. (1980). A theory of behavior in organizations. New York: Academic Press.

Appendix I

F - Ratios for Scales by Subgroups⁴⁵

	F									
	1 & 2	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 5	2 & 3	2 & 4	2 & 5	3 & 4	3 & 5	4 & 5
Scale 1	1.31*	1.16*	1.24*	1.41*	1.12	1.06	1.08	1.07	1.21*	1.14*
Scale 2	1.96*	1.59*	1.80*	1.99*	1.23*	1.09	1.02	1.13	1.25*	1.11
Scale 3	1.04	1.09	1.10	1.13	1.13	1.15*	1.18*	1.01	1.04	1.03
Scale 4	1.26*	1.25*	1.15*	1.24*	1.00	1.10	1.01	1.09	.99	1.08
Scale 5	1.22*	1.10	1.08	1.17*	1.11	1.31*	1.42*	1.18*	1.28*	1.08
Scale 6	1.31*	1.32*	1.54*	1.29*	1.01	1.17	1.02	1.16*	1.03	1.19*
Scale 7	1.17*	1.18*	1.19*	1.36*	1.01	1.02	1.16*	1.01	1.15*	1.15*
Scale 8	1.08	1.00	1.06	1.03	1.09	1.15*	1.12*	1.06	1.03	1.03
Scale 9	1.34*	1.30*	1.19*	1.36*	1.03	1.13	1.02	1.09	1.05	1.15*
Scale 10	1.49*	1.34*	1.28*	1.09	1.12	1.17*	1.36*	1.05	1.22*	1.17*
Scale 11	1.12	1.21*	1.37	1.53*	1.08	1.22*	1.37*	1.14*	1.27*	1.12
Scale 12	1.13	1.10	1.02	1.18*	1.03	1.16*	1.33*	1.13	1.30*	1.15*

Note: 1 = White, 2 = African American, 3= Hispanic American, 4 = Asian American, and 5= Native American. *p <.05

Confidence Intervals for Ratio of Variances for All Scales by Subgroup⁴⁶

	95% Confidence Intervals for Variance Ratios									
	1 & 2	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 5	2 & 3	2 & 4	2 & 5	3 & 4	3 & 5	4 & 5
Scale 1	1.15- 1.48	1.02- 1.31	1.09- 1.40	1.24- 1.59	.99- 1.27	.93- 1.19	.95- 1.22	.94- 1.20	1.07- 1.37	1.00- 1.29
Scale 2	2.21- 1.72	1.40- 1.80	1.58- 2.03	1.75- 2.25	1.08- 1.39	.96- 1.23	.89- 1.15	.99- 1.27	1.10- 1.41	.98- 1.25
Scale 3	.92- 1.18	.96- 1.23	.97- 1.25	1.00- 1.28	1.00- 1.28	1.01- 1.30	1.04- 1.33	.89- 1.15	.92- 1.18	.90- 1.16
Scale 4	1.11- 1.42	1.10- 1.41	1.01- 1.30	1.09- 1.40	.88- 1.14	.96- 1.24	.89- 1.14	.96- 1.23	.87- 1.12	.95- 1.22
Scale 5	1.07- 1.38	.97- 1.24	.95- 1.22	1.03- 1.32	.98- 1.25	1.15- 1.48	1.25- 1.61	1.04- 1.34	1.13- 1.45	.95- 1.22
Scale 6	1.16- 1.48	1.17- 1.50	1.35- 1.74	1.14- 1.46	.89- 1.14	1.03- 1.32	.90- 1.15	1.02- 1.31	.90- 1.16	1.05- 1.35
Scale 7	1.03- 1.32	1.04- 1.33	1.04- 1.34	1.20- 1.54	.89- 1.14	.89- 1.15	1.03- 1.32	.88- 1.14	1.01- 1.30	1.01- 1.29
Scale 8	.95- 1.22	.88- 1.13	.93- 1.20	.91- 1.16	.96- 1.23	1.01- 1.30	.98- 1.26	.93- 1.20	.90- 1.16	.91- 1.16
Scale 9	1.18- 1.51	1.14- 1.46	1.04- 1.34	1.20- 1.54	.91- 1.17	.99- 1.27	.90- 1.15	.96- 1.23	.92- 1.19	1.01- 1.30
Scale 10	1.31- 1.69	1.18- 1.51	1.12- 1.44	.96- 1.24	.98- 1.26	1.03- 1.32	1.20- 1.54	.92- 1.18	1.07- 1.38	1.03- 1.32
Scale 11	.99- 1.27	1.06- 1.36	1.21- 1.55	1.35- 1.73	.95- 1.22	1.08- 1.38	1.20- 1.54	1.00- 1.29	1.12- 1.44	.98- 1.26
Scale 12	1.00- 1.28	.97- 1.25	.90- 1.16	1.04- 1.33	.90- 1.16	1.02- 1.31	1.17- 1.51	.99- 1.27	1.14- 1.47	1.01- 1.30

Note: 1 = White, 2 = African American, 3= Hispanic American, 4 = Asian American, and 5= Native American.

⁴⁵ Note that significance values are given for F-ratios in table. In effect, these significance values are treating the F ratios as an F-Max test

⁴⁶ If confidence interval includes the value of 1.0, then the ratio of variances is not considered significant

1100

Invited Speaker

Dr. Mady Wechsler Segal
University of Maryland

***Women's Military Roles: Past, Present, and Future*⁴⁷**

Abstract

This talk outlines a theory of what affects the degree and nature of women's participation in the armed forces through history and across nations. Examining national security situation, military technology, military accession policies, demographic patterns, cultural values regarding gender, and structural patterns of gender roles, the talk proposes a systematic theory of the conditions under which women's military roles expand and contract. Highlights of the discovery process are presented. The military's need for personnel has been the driving force behind expansion of women's military roles through history and across nations, but cultural values supporting gender equality also contribute and seem likely to have increased influence in the future

(NOTE: Dr. Segal submitted the following four pages as a summary of her presentation.)

⁴⁷ The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of Defense.

WOMEN'S MILITARY ROLES CROSS-NATIONALLY:
PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Mady Wechsler Segal
University of Maryland, College Park

Talk prepared for presentation at DEOMI EO/EEO Research Symposium, 2-4 December 1997.

Mailing Address: Mady W. Segal, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-1315.
Phone: 301-405-6433.
e-mail: MSEGAL@BSS1.UMD.EDU

ABSTRACT

This talk outlines a theory of what affects the degree and nature of women's participation in the armed forces through history and across nations. Examining national security situation, military technology, military accession policies, demographic patterns, cultural values regarding gender, and structural patterns of gender roles, the talk proposes a systematic theory of the conditions under which women's military roles expand and contract. Highlights of the discovery process are presented. The military's need for personnel has been the driving force behind expansion of women's military roles through history and across nations, but cultural values supporting gender equality also contribute and seem likely to have increased influence in the future. Also presented is some of what we know about how military units successfully gender integrate.

The first part of my talk is not available in these proceedings (because it is already published). In that part of the talk I presented the general outlines of the theory of the conditions under which women's military roles expand and contract, a summary of some of the highlights of my discovery process, general conclusions from the research, and some current trends and expectations for the future. You can read this content (and more) in:

Mady Wechsler Segal, "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future," Gender & Society, Vol. 9, No. 6 (December 1995), pp. 757-775.

(Contact me if you would like me to send you a copy.)

[The last part of my talk was as follows:]

My emphasis so far today has been at the macro-level of policy, but there is much construction that takes place at the micro level - in interpersonal interaction and in individuals' perceptions. We know a great deal about the conditions that affect the success of gender integration. I should tell you that I wrote up these conclusions more than 5 years ago, but I'm sure you'll see how relevant they are today.

Research demonstrates that the process of integrating members of previously excluded groups into organizations and groups within organizations generally does not proceed smoothly. Problems are encountered when integrating the military and other social institutions. Integration problems tend to occur with various social characteristics, not only with gender, but also with race and ethnicity. Early phases of integration are often characterized by negative attitudes toward the members of the newly admitted group. Such negative attitudes are usually accompanied by behaviors involving discrimination against the new group.

Among the negative behaviors that occur are social isolation and harassment of the new members. Sexual harassment of military women is a common problem. Indeed, sexual harassment of women is widespread in the work place generally. The most severe forms are the least frequent, but they tend to occur more to women in lower status positions.

Breaking with tradition is hard. There are always sources of resistance to change in any institution. The greater the experience with, and/or identification with, the old ways of doing things, the greater will be the resistance to change. Part of men's resistance to women in previously all-male roles, especially those that have served as rites of passage to manhood, is that it's been hard traditionally to prove you're a man by doing something that a woman can do. Military men also often retain their definitions of their roles as masculine while accepting individual women - for example, by disconnecting perceptions of an individual woman peer's success from their conceptions of "women" in general.

But research also shows us the conditions that tend to foster more effective integration. More positive attitudes tend to develop under the following conditions (expressed using the language of gender integration of previously all-male situations):

- When interaction is sufficiently close and sustained so that the men have the opportunity to get to know the individual women well.
- When integration occurs early in the formation of the group and, for the military, early in the military career.
- When the women are of at least equal status to the men.
- When women constitute more than a small (token) minority of the work group.

- When the situation is one that fosters cooperation rather than competition among members of the group.
- When there are commonly shared goals.
- And, finally, when those in positions of authority support the integration.

This last condition is very important. It is also amenable to control in the military services. Gender integration will proceed most smoothly - and with the fewest severe problems experienced - if the top leadership is committed to making gender integration work and communicates that commitment. The greater the degree of public commitment expressed by leaders at each organizational level, the more successful will be the gender integration process - and the more effective the military units will be.

Here are some of the specific behavior prescriptions for leaders:

- Be an active public advocate for gender integration.
- Exemplify in your own behavior how to treat people fairly regardless of gender.
- Never tell sexist jokes - even in all-male groups.
- Always use inclusionary language; do not use only male pronouns.
- In choosing models to hold up for emulation, be careful about choosing only men. Certainly, don't choose men who were themselves sexist or racist. If they were from an earlier historical era where such behavior was normative and they had other important redeeming qualities, then be specific about which characteristic you really want emulated and explicitly qualify your admiration for these model folks with caveats about their behavior that is not acceptable today.

Following these behavior guidelines, leaders can foster, not hinder, gender integration.

Now I'd be happy to answer questions about anything I've said or other issues related to women in the military.

Thank you.

WOMEN'S MILITARY ROLES CROSS-NATIONALLY: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

Mady Wechsler Segal
University of Maryland, College Park

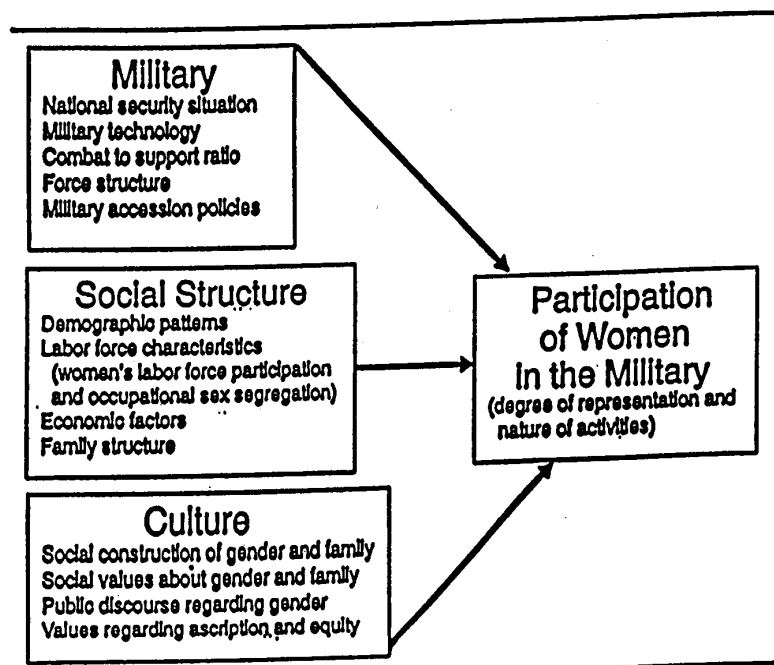


FIGURE 1: Theory of Factors Affecting Women's Military Participation

Talk prepared for presentation at DEOMI EO/EEO Research Symposium,
2-4 December 1997.

Mailing Address:
Mady W. Segal
Department of Sociology
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742-1315

Phone: 301-405-6433
e-mail: MSEGAL@BSS1.UMD.EDU

Paper Session C

Contemporary EO Issues in Society and the Military

*Do We Need a New Multiracial Category?*⁴⁸Larry Hochhaus
Alcorn State University**Abstract**

The topic of Federal standards for racial and ethnic categories is examined using background literature and governmental reports. Racial concepts and vocabulary are reviewed; uses of race in census surveys and by government agencies are examined; future directions and problems with multiracial and other racial categories are considered.

The purpose of the present review is to examine the implications of using multiracial categories on census and other survey forms. Proponents argue that permitting this new category as a response by mixed-race individuals will give them new rights and new legal self-identity. Alternatively, opponents contend that creating a new racial classification will dilute other racial groups or will limit the effectiveness of legal and institutional efforts to protect minority rights. Before any policy change is taken, however, it is important to consider the ramifications of that adjustment.

The present paper is a summary of a broader review (Hochhaus, 1997) of the implications of using hybrid or multiracial categories in census and other types of surveys. Hochhaus reviewed racial and ethnic labeling practice through survey of archival and Internet literature.

The present review includes a historical survey of racial and ethnic vocabulary uses by the scientific and legal communities. Recent theories of prejudice and discrimination based on cognitive processes and child cognitive development are also described. Additionally, uses of racial categories by census and government agencies are summarized, followed by a description of a three-year project by the "Interagency Committee for the Review of Racial and Ethnic Standards," a consortium committee composed of over 35 federal agencies. The present review focuses on the issues, background research, and guiding principles surrounding possible changes to the 1977 Public Policy called "Directive 15," which set standards for the racial and ethnic categories in use over the last two decades.

⁴⁸ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

Finally, the 1997 recommendations of the Interagency Committee are summarized and an assessment is made of what the future may portend for problems of multiracial and other racial and ethnic categories. The remainder of the present report is thus organized into three parts: (a) history relevant to definitions of race, (b) uses of race in census and government agencies, and (c) future trends.

History and background - defining race

The use of racial and ethnic origin categories is problematic. Most scholars assert that racial categories are arbitrary and are used to apply social power for political and instrumental purposes (Hirschfeld, 1996; Jordan, 1968, 1973; Smedley, 1993). Few writers claim race is a biologically meaningful category for analysis of the human condition.

The extended report by Hochhaus (1997) provides a philosophical-linguistic analysis of racial terms which further reinforces the conclusion that racial terms lack scientific validity. Analysis of meaning indicates that not every term in language has a reference point in nature (Searle, 1992; 1995). Racial terms instead appear to have relevance solely in terms of power relations between individuals and between groups rather than as a biological subdivision of the category of humans.

Recent investigation of prejudice through study of developmental cognition (Hirschfeld, 1996) is informative about the mechanics of racial thinking. For example, somewhere between the second and sixth grade, white children come to learn to use the “one-drop rule” (the view that any fraction of black ancestry will make an individual black) as evidenced by cross-sectional studies of ratings of the resemblance between offspring and their mixed-race parents. According to Hirschfeld, children develop personal theories in which cultural power relationships become justified through treating race as a “natural” (biologically justified) category. Children may do this through reasoning by analogy from animal species.

According to Hirschfeld and others (e.g., Eberhardt & Randall, 1997), race is a “social” category. By this view, social categories are “artifact” categories (like furniture, houses, cars, toys), not “natural kind” categories (such as animals, trees, rivers, mountains). The point, however, is that social categories are frequently treated by children as natural categories. That is, social categories are treated as if their objects had deeper, essential characteristics.

The developmental psychologists in their efforts to understand the evolution of essentialistic categories are thus putting forth a particular model of social stereotypes (see also Yzerbyt, Rocher, & Schandron, 1997). Rather than assuming stereotypes represent a loose series of attitudes and beliefs (which may have a germ of referential truth) as was done in the early psychological treatments of prejudice (cf. Katz & Braley, 1933), stereotypes are viewed as theories or self-talk stories that link diverse attributes into a coherent picture.

Uses of race concepts throughout United States history

Examination of the historical uses of racial vocabulary tells us that the referential components behind racial terms are loose and ill-defined. Racial labels are frequently tools used by people in attempts to exert social dominance and power over others (e.g., Jordan, 1973; Smedley, 1993). Because of this, it is instructive to examine early ways scholars and lawyers have developed racial terms. Not surprisingly, the U.S. Constitution, its amendments, and related writings are an important source of racial concepts and vocabulary.

We see that, although many scholars are aware of the problems of using racial labels, the tendency to ignore warnings about categorical thinking and overgeneralization about race is widespread. Even such an important scholar as W. E. B. Du Bois was not immune to belief in a reified concept of race. In 1897 he declared, “Nevertheless, in our calmer moments we must acknowledge that human beings are divided into races; that in this country, the two most extreme types of the world’s races have met, and the resulting problem as to the future relations of these types is not only of intense and living interest to us, but forms an epoch in the history of mankind” (Du Bois, 1897, p. 5). Smedley (1993) claims that racial world views were not present prior to the sixteenth century and that racial classifications and ideologies grew out of the colonial expansion of certain Western European nations during the past five centuries. According to Smedley, the pressures to differentiate groups by race were nowhere stronger than in North America during colonial times. Given that context, Du Bois’ willingness to think in racial terms is more understandable.

Uses of race by legal institutions in the United States

The conflicts and inconsistencies surrounding the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and early legislative works are well documented (e.g., Jordan, 1968; Smedley, 1993). In the case of the U.S. Constitution, such disputes led to the compromise with the South which put the weight of the United States government on the side of the white majority in race matters. Because slaves were property, however, for taxation and representation purposes a mechanism for counting slaves was needed and slaves were proclaimed to be three-fifths of a man. As Jordan (1968) points out, this compromise was reasonable given that slaves were conceptualized as both property and human; only the exactitude of the fraction makes the conclusion appear ludicrous.

Slave uprisings and slave revolts ensued early in the country’s history (Aptheker, 1969) and antislavery societies grew in step with the new nation. The first antislavery organization was founded in Philadelphia in 1775. Support for the antislavery movement tended to be centered in the larger northern cities (Jordan, 1968).

Numerous State, Appeals, and U.S. Supreme Court cases have involved rulings that bear on race. The interested reader is referred to the expanded report by Hochhaus (1997) for a summary of these. The Hochhaus report also provides an extensive summary of the uses of race in census surveys and by government agencies.

The United States Government in 1977, through Statistical Policy Directive No. 15, sought consistency in racial classifications by establishing rules which set the guidelines for racial and ethnic standards on all federal forms. The directive called for use of four racial categories, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, Black, and White. Additionally, the government added an ethnicity question by asking people to check off “Hispanic origin” or “not of Hispanic origin.” These categories are used by the U.S. Census and are also found on various forms at state and local levels. At times, states have required the addition of either “multiracial” or “other” as a category.

Congressional hearings were held in 1993 to consider possible changes to Directive 15. The following year, the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) also held administrative hearings. Legislatively-based priorities (in the areas of civil rights monitoring and enforcement covering areas such as employment, voting rights, housing and mortgage lending, health care services, and educational opportunities) create the need among federal agencies for clear, compatible data for the specific population groups that historically have suffered discrimination and differential treatment on the basis of their race or ethnicity. At issue, however, was concern that Directive 15 was not sufficiently reflecting the Nation’s diversity.

The White House (1995) [on line accessible] document is a 45-page, detailed report divided into three areas: a summary of suggested changes to Directive 15, drawn from public hearing comments; a description of the research agenda directed toward the issues identified; and principles to be used in reaching a final standard for classifying racial/ethnic data.

In the June 9, 1994 Federal Register notice, the Office of Management and Budget asked for public comment in three areas: (a) adequacy of current categories, (b) principles that should govern revision of the standards, and (c) specific suggested changes. The public comment raised six issues concerning current categories, namely:

1. Should the federal government collect data on race and ethnicity?
2. Should Directive 15 be revised?
3. Should “race/ethnicity” be asked in one identification or should “race” be separated from questions on Hispanic origin?
4. Should racial/ethnic classification be self-identified or determined with the consultation of an observer?
5. Should population size and geographic distribution of groups be criteria in determination of Directive 15 categories?
6. What should the data collection categories be (e.g., issues of subcategories, wording of category names, use of multiracial as a category)?

Discussion concerning Issue 1 properly pointed out that several agencies are required by federal statute and regulation to collect racial and ethnic data. To end racial and ethnic classifications would require repeal of these statutes by Congress. As one respondent said, “...the measurable gains made in advancing a civil rights agenda to bring all Americans into the

economic, political, and social mainstream would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, if we did not have adequate information on race and ethnic groups” (White House, 1995, p.6).

Ten reasons were given for ending data collection on racial and ethnic categories. In brief summary, these include the concern that doing so is divisive, unscientific, and racist; that government has no business investigating ancestry; that it is dehumanizing; and that racial categories are upsetting to people (remind them of the Nazi holocaust).

In spite of these concerns, the strong consensus of the public comment favored retention of the issuance of standards for collecting data on race and ethnicity. Further background to Directive 15 is reviewed in the Federal Register (1994, p. 29831). Federal agencies which are required by statute to use racial and ethnic data for policy development, program evaluation, and civil rights monitoring and enforcement generally favor no change in the structure of Directive 15 for numerous reasons (e.g., desire for historical continuity of data, concern for costs of making changes).

Issue 2 asks if Directive 15 should be revised. As the present report has indicated, race and ethnicity are subjective concepts and are inherently ambiguous. Additionally, people change their self-classifications, particularly concerning ethnicity. Federal agencies differed in their views on changing Directive 15 somewhat based on their mandates. Those which used racial and ethnic categories for regulatory programs generally opposed revision, whereas those geared to trend analyses of social and economic changes preferred more detailed categories.

The possibility of creating a two-part Directive 15 based on these two purposes was considered yielding concern that such data sets could not be related as a result of rule differences in tabulation and coding. Procedures that yield data that can be tabulated back to the broad categories of the 1977 Directive 15 were deemed highly valuable to allow data comparability over time.

Issues 3, 4, and 5 are also covered in the White House 1995 report and are summarized in Hochhaus (1997). Space limits, however, do not permit full coverage of all issues here. Issue 6 asks what the specific data collection categories should be. Discussion of Issue 6 covers over half of the 45 pages in the White House (1995) report. The pros and cons implied by Issue 6 are also elaborated in the Hochhaus (1997) report.

The issue of use of multiracial categories has engendered the greatest controversy of the various changes considered. Other concerns, however, are not insignificant. For example, there is presently substantial confusion about whether “Hispanic” will or should include Spaniards, Portuguese, Brazilians, and American Indians with mixed heritage. These and other possible changes to the 1977 Directive 15 categories engendered a substantial research effort.

The White House (1995) report described a research agenda aimed at answering certain of the issues and options concerning racial/ethnic categories. Most research efforts have been aided, encouraged, or underwritten by the “Interagency Committee for the Review of Racial and Ethnic Standards” which was initiated by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and consisting

of representatives from over 35 federal agencies. The Interagency Committee has worked on the problem of Directive 15 categories for over three years and has produced or encouraged three noteworthy research projects on the topic of racial and ethnic categories. These are (a) a special version of the Current Population Survey (CPS) [on line available at: http://www.bls.census.gov/CPS/pub/ethnic_0595.htm], (b) the National Content Survey (NCS, also known as the U.S. Census 2000 Test [on line available at: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/seedemo/96natcontentsurvey.htm>]), and (c) the Race and Ethnic Targeted Test (RAETT). For summaries of these three projects, see Hochhaus (1997).

Examination of the Hochhaus report shows the substantial research that went into evaluating the implications of possible changes to the categories of the Directive 15 standards. The recommendations of the Interagency Committee were announced July 9, 1997.

The 1995 White House report also laid out a set of 13 principles to guide decisions concerning changes to the 1977 Directive 15 categories. The principles were applied with the goal of creating a consistent, publicly acceptable standard for data on race and ethnicity, and seeking, in the OMB's words, "to meet the needs of the Federal Government and the public while, at the same time, recognizing the diversity of the population and respecting the individual's dignity" (Federal Register, 1997, p.36881).

Summary of the 1997 Interagency Committee recommendations

The Interagency Committee, through its organizing agency, the OMB, made recommendations in mid-1997 concerning reporting options, question formats, and several aspects of changes in racial and ethnic categories. The recommendations are designed to provide the minimum necessary standards for federal data on race and ethnicity.

The proposals were accompanied by extensive justifications and rationalizations which are summarized in Hochhaus (1997). Following, however, is a general summary of the recommendations provided without comment followed by a full statement of the newly recommended standards.

The recommendations

Concerning reporting more than one race: When self-identification is used, the committee recommends that reports of more than one race should be adopted. Specific recommendation against use of a "multiracial" category was also made. Wording for multiple response questions should be "Mark one or more..." or very similar language. Data producers were urged to report, at minimum, the number of individuals reporting more than one race. As long as confidentiality considerations can be met, further detail concerning the distribution of multiple responses was also encouraged.

Concerning a combined race and ethnicity question: A two-question race/ethnicity format was urged with allowance for reports of more than one race. Records of both Hispanic ethnicity

and a race were encouraged, but it was stated that the recording of only one identification should be left as an option.

Recommendations on category labels: It was recommended that the Hispanic origin question appear before the one on race. It was further recommended that ethnic categories of Cape Verdean, Arab, or Middle Eastern should not be added, nor should any other new ethnic categories be used. Retention of the term “American Indian” was favored over “Native American,” but it was recommended that “Hawaiian” be changed to “Native Hawaiian.” It was

further indicated that Native Hawaiians should continue to be classified in the “Asian or Pacific Islander” category.

“Alaska Native” was recommended over the present “Alaskan Native” and should be used instead of “Eskimo” or “Aleut.” South and Central American Indians are to be designated “American Indian.” The category “Black” is to be expanded to read “Black or African American.” “Hispanic” and the definition of that category should remain unchanged. A verbatim transcript of the recommended standards can be found in Hochhaus (1997) and in the Federal Register (1997) [also on line accessible].

Interagency Committee change justifications

Substantial details concerning reasoning and research behind the recommended changes to Directive 15 are provided in the final report. In some cases, a review of findings on both sides of a position was offered. Most decisions, especially those concerning category labels, have not been controversial; subgroup preferences were acceded in each circumstance. Three issues, however, have drawn substantial public interest: (a) whether to include racial classifications at all, (b) the “multiracial” category option, and (c) the recommendation to permit selecting more than one racial category.

Although it was raised and debated in the public hearings, the issue of whether to use racial categories at all was little mentioned in the final committee report. Because of their positive stands on Issue 2 (no multicultural category) and Issue 3 (multiple racial responses), however, a great deal of research and opinion was cited relative to these recommendations.

Part of the decision to allow more than one race seems to have been based on the observation that anywhere from 0.5 to 2 percent of respondents are likely to mark multiple categories even when told to “select one response.” Perhaps the recommendation to allow responses choosing more than one race was seen by the committee as a transitional solution aimed at preserving data comparability.

Legal concerns, however, are likely the overriding force that drove the recommendation for multiple racial responses and against the “multiracial” category. It appears that legislative mandates, such as those concerning mortgage lending and civil rights enforcements, and the corresponding lack of legislation calling for a specific count of multiracials has mitigated against adding a multiracial category. Key also may be the estimated absence of an effect of reporting

more than one race on the process for reapportionment and redistricting.

Other rationale is also provided. For example, the report claims there is no general consensus for a definition of “multiracial” and it was suggested that respondents often confuse the term “multiracial” with “multiethnic.” Yet another justification is the fact that a number of persons take offense at use of an “other” category with a multiracial example. When self-identification is not possible or practical, “multiracial” designations are difficult to achieve by observers. See Hochhaus (1997) for other background (e.g., cost factors, Voting Rights Act) concerning the recommendations.

Where do we go from here?

The Interagency Committee for the Review of Racial and Ethnic Standards has recommended that additional research be undertaken to evaluate the effects of the proposed changes and to consider methods for accommodating them. For the long-term future of racial and ethnic demographics, two core issues remain and are likely to be at the forefront when classification standards are examined in the next millennium: (a) should racial categories be used at all? and (b) should a “multiracial” category be used? Let us examine each of these.

Should racial categories be used at all?

Politics in the United States in the last several years has turned away from affirmative action and positive concerns by government to rectify problems of discrimination and toward belief in a more benign stance on these issues. Change in the Rhenquist Supreme Court toward an emphasis on “color-blindness” as a standard was noted in Hochhaus (1997) and in Raskin (1997). Guinier (1994) and others have stressed, however, that color-blindness and equal opportunity are not the same ideas.

A popular slogan of the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960’s was “if you are not part of the solution, you are part of the problem.” It is my personal opinion that denial of government’s role in racial matters runs the risk of passivity in the face of real problems. The current emphasis on color blindness leads directly to a noninterventionist stance by federal and state governments.

In the 1960’s, when riots were common and the nation was divided over its stand on civil rights as a social issue, the climate favored legislative mandates aimed at removing racial injustices. The 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights Acts were perhaps uniquely prepared by the substantial strife, both foreign and domestic, which existed at that time. Those laws are a big part of the explanation of why we continue to employ racial counting. A recent writer put it well when she pointed out that, “Categories are crucial for political, instrumental purposes. It is not enough for society to become nondiscriminatory, because not all groups in society operate on a level playing field” (Colker, 1996, p.7).

At the risk of personification, the federal government seems to want to stop using racial categories, but in 1997 is not quite ready to do so. President Clinton’s decision to “mend it, don’t

end it” with respect to affirmative action seems similarly geared toward the gradual transition between prior and future stands on the issue (Page, 1996).

Because racial identity is socially constructed, it is fair to ask if race-based affirmative action programs perpetuate or ameliorate race-based subordination. This is also personal opinion, but it seems we are near the time when the outmoded vocabulary of race can be replaced with modifications of our legislation to allow attention to ethnicity and ancestry instead. One’s laws ought not to oppose conceptual realities. Race does not make sense biologically and can only persist by virtue of the social meaning attached to it. If ethnic groups and ancestry can provide a basis for broad protection of civil rights and Bill of Rights concerns, then it appears to be time to discard the anachronistic racial vocabulary that grew out of hatreds and disdain and replace it with more justifiable terms.

Yet another potential solution is a means-tested program as a basis for affirmative action, a solution urged upon President Clinton by his advisors (according to Page, 1996). Page has further documented how racial issues and class-based differences are frequently blurred in recent United States politics. Affirmative action, taxes, crime, welfare, and “family-values” can be perceived as code words acceptable for attack by the middle class, but may disguise a deeper meaning based on enmity toward poverty and disadvantaged groups.

If the goal is to help individuals who have been treated unfairly by powerful others in society, perhaps a color-blind approach based on social status rather than race is a useful alternative. Potentially, this could assuage the concerns of those who wish to help the people who need help the most and would at the same time settle fears by “angry white males” who believe themselves to be targets of discrimination.

The future can be forecast only with hazard. Forces to oppress groups of people will likely produce counter pressures to rectify injustices. The climate of the Supreme Court could and probably will change again. Likely too, we have probably not seen the last riot over rage against mistreatment of an identifiable subgroup. The world seems too large to permit a total blending of ethnic differences, but as earlier sections of the present report and Hochhaus (1997) and others point out, the validity of the specific term “race” presently stands on very shaky grounds.

Should a “multiracial” category be used?

Just as legislative mandates may have biased the Interagency Committee’s decision to maintain racial categorization, it appears the lack of legislation concerning multiracial individuals has led to its neglect. The committee seemed aware that the issue of a multiracial category would grow rather than shrink in concern. In their own words,

The multiracial population is growing, and the task of measuring this phenomenon will have to be confronted sooner or later. Adopting a method for reporting more than one race now means that the demographic changes in society can be measured

more precisely with a smaller discontinuity in historical data series than would occur in the future” (Federal Register, 1997, p. 36937).

An estimated two percent of individuals are presently self-classified as multiracial. This is twice as many as were so categorized less than ten years ago. What is the threshold which triggers the need for a new category? Although infrequent relative to multiracials, there are transgendered individuals who do not fit neatly into “male” or “female” categories. Although quite rare relative to multiracials, the number of such persons is also growing year by year.

According to Page (1996) it will be the multiracials of society who put the greatest pressure on abolition of race categorization. Mexico, a highly multiracial society, has not asked about race on its census since 1921. Although not there yet, the United States appears headed in a similar direction.

References

- Colker, R. (1996). *Hybrid: Bisexuals, multiracials, and other misfits under American law*. New York: New York University Press.
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1897). The conservation of races, pp. 5-15. In W. E. B. Du Bois (ed.), *Occasional papers*, no. 2. Washington, DC: American Negro Academy. Reprinted in D. S. Green & E. D. Driver (eds.), *W. E. B. Du Bois on sociology and the black community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 238-248.
- Eberhardt, J. L., & Randall, J. L. (1997). The essential notion of race. *Psychological Science*, 8, 198-203.
- Federal Register. (1997, July 9). Federal Register [on line]. Available: <http://ralph.Lib.auburn.edu/gpo/GPOAccess.cgi>.
- Guinier, L. (1994). *The tyranny of the majority: Fundamental fairness in representative democracy*. New York: Free Press.
- Hirschfeld, L. A. (1996). *Race in the making: Cognition, culture, and the child's construction of human kinds*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hochhaus, L. (1997). *Do we need a new multiracial category*. Unpublished technical report prepared at Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute DEOMI), Patrick Air Force Base, FL.
- Jordan, W. D. (1968). *White over Black: American attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Jordan, W. D. (1973). *The white man's burden: Historical origins of racism in the United States*. NY: Oxford University Press.

- Katz, D., & Braley, K. (1933). Racial stereotypes in one-hundred college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 28, 280-290.
- Page, C. (1996). *Showing my color: Impolite essays on race and identity*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Raskin, J. B. (Ed.). (1997). Conference on race, law and justice: The Rhenquist court and the American dilemma. *American University Law Review*, 45, 1-98. Available on the Internet at <http://www.wcl.american.edu/pub/journals/lawrev/race.htm>.
- Searle, J. R. (1992). *The rediscovery of mind*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Searle, J. R. (1995). *The construction of social reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Smedley, A. (1993). *Race in North America: Origin and evolution of a worldview*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- White House (1995). Standards for the classification of Federal data on race and ethnicity. Available on the Internet at <http://www1.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/OMB/html/fedreg/race-ethnicity.html>.
- Yzerbyt, V., Roscher, S., & Schadron, G. (1997). Stereotypes as explanations. In R. Spears, P. J. Oaks, N. Ellemers, & S. A. Haslam (Eds.), *The social psychology of stereotyping and group life*, pp. 20-50. Oxford, England: Blackwell.

*Stealth Affirmative Action:
Not on Radar But Doing Some Damage*⁴⁹

Rupert W. Nacoste
North Carolina State University

Abstract

Why do members of organizations resist the use of equal opportunity programs like affirmative action? Various hypotheses have been offered. In this paper, the argument is made that what appear to be target group effects are really procedural effects that occur through “virtual affirmative action”—the person’s working model of the policy. When policy procedures are not clear to the members of the organization, they work from this virtual model, and this virtual model influences resistance.

Murrell, Dietz-Uhler, Dovidio, Gaertner, & Drout (1994) claim that much of the resistance to affirmative action in America is really a subtle expression of racial animosity toward African-Americans. Their claim rest on the idea that the current social norms of American society discourage any outright expression of racial animosity, so white Americans express their animosity through subtle means. One method for doing this is to reject policies of affirmative action by way of a non-race-related rationale; to say that affirmative action is unfair. Arguing against affirmative action because the policy is unfair, then, becomes a subtle expression of racial prejudice.

Following on that foundation, Murrell and her colleagues argued that when a policy of affirmative action is presented without some kind of justification, white Americans should show less resistance to affirmative action for the physically handicapped and the elderly than for African-Americans. When a policy is presented without a justification, that allows the observer to present a rationale against the policy. According to Murrell and her colleagues, if subtle racial animosity is not involved, when no justification is presented resistance to affirmative action should be equal across those groups. To test that hypothesis, they created a survey to separately measure opinions about affirmative action directed at African-Americans, the physically handicapped and the elderly. As predicted, Murrell and her colleagues found that affirmative action directed at blacks was reacted to more negatively than for the other groups when no policy justification was presented.

There is, however, an alternative explanation for that pattern. Most citizens are not privy to the actual workings of affirmative action policies. Even so, as distant observers, people try to make what is observable coherent in order to come to some conclusions and formulate opinions about affirmative action policies. To be able to make a positive or negative evaluation of affirmative action, the person must have a relevant representation of some feature of the policy

⁴⁹ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

that they are evaluating. That representation may be accurate or inaccurate, clear or fuzzy, but there must be some kind of representation.

That mental representation or schema (Markus & Zajonc, 1985) is what will determine a person's evaluation of affirmative action, in one of two ways. First, a particular portion of the schema could be activated by environmental cues. Bunzel (1986) showed that how one asks a question about affirmative action is a major determinant of the level of resistance observed. As he put it:

It is no secret that respondents' answers to questions about race, quotas, special preference, and other value-laden 'cue-words' associated with affirmative action depend on the wording used by pollsters. Thus the public is least likely to support explicit quotas when these are presented as an alternative to "merit" or "ability."

Second, without any environmental cues, that portion of the person's schema for affirmative action that is available will influence their responses. If as demonstrated by Bunzel (1986) the definition used in the question affects resistance, what is happening when no definition is given (as in the work of Murrell)? Under those circumstances people call on their own definitions of affirmative action; they call on virtual affirmative action. Given the notoriety of affirmative action, individuals have their own definitions of affirmative action or their own pictures of how affirmative action gets done. It may be that it is these pictures of the procedural operations of affirmative action or these schemas for the procedures of the policy that determine each person's feelings about the policy. That makes it important to know what image the person is working from; what does the person imagine to be affirmative action?

Virtual Affirmative Action

What would be in a person's schema for affirmative action? It is important to note that affirmative action is a material conflict of interest, meaning that at a concrete level the interests of one (individual or group) are incompatible with the interests of another (individual or group). That being the case, according to the theory of procedural justice (Thibaut & Walker, 1978), people will be very concerned about the procedures used to manage that conflict of interests. For that reason, a schema for affirmative action will contain mental representations of the procedures and the procedural context relevant to affirmative action decision making, and standards by which individuals can evaluate the fairness of the procedures (Nacoste, 1994a). Without ever reading an affirmative action plan or having the procedures outlined to them, a person can have a schema for affirmative action. This virtual affirmative action will be real to them and will determine how the person responds to surveys and conversations about affirmative action.

Relevant to this point is the work reported by Kravitz & Platania (1993). They had people evaluate potential components of an affirmative action policy and indicate how likely they felt each potential component was to actually be a part of an affirmative action policy. On items related to the likelihood that affirmative action involves the use of quotas, Kravitz & Platania found that respondents believed that a typical affirmative action policy would require the hiring and promotion of a "certain number" of members of a target group, and that an "affirmative

action plan would involve quotas.” Also, on items related to the likelihood that the demographic status of applicants (e.g., gender, race) would have to be considered somehow, participants believed that affirmative action for employment would require the consideration of demographic status, and that it was unlikely that demographic status could be ignored. Looked at broadly, the Kravitz & Platania work shows that people do have a mental representation of how an affirmative action policy is likely to work.

Murrell and her colleagues essentially argued that some form of individual racial prejudice had to be the major reason that people could have different reactions to affirmative action depending on the target group. Not only that, but they assumed that differential reactions based on the target groups they used had to be racially motivated.

Rioux & Penner (1997) repeated the work of Murrell and her colleagues to see whether they would find the same pattern of results. In addition to using as target groups African-Americans, the elderly, and the physically handicapped, Rioux & Penner included women as a target group. For a number of reasons the inclusion of women was very important. Women are a group that is even larger than African-Americans, and so affirmative action for women may be more threatening. Rioux & Penner obtained results that suggest that the amount of threat may be more important than racial motivation. First, they found that when the policy was justified, resistance to affirmative action did not differ by target groups. When the policy was not justified, resistance was higher for blacks or women compared to other groups (elderly and physically handicapped), with no difference in resistance between blacks and women. Second, Rioux & Penner found that the differences by target group only held for men. Taken together, these results

and earlier work on procedural effects (Nacoste, 1990) suggest that it would be premature to accept the idea that aversive racism has any influence on resistance.

That said, an alternative explanation for target group effects is needed. The work reported in this paper focused particularly on how virtual affirmative action influences resistance to affirmative action by target groups. The hypothesis pursued in this paper is that people associate different procedures with different target groups. More specifically, the hypothesis is that in the virtual reality of white Americans, the weight or consideration given to group membership is greatest for African-Americans and women, compared to the physically handicapped or the elderly. Why? There are a number of possibilities. However, the second hypothesis is that people have given more thought to affirmative action for African-Americans and women because they have been exposed to more controversy and information about affirmative action procedures for African-Americans and women than for other groups.

Method

Study Participants

71 female and 73 male white students were the participants in the study. Participants received credit toward the fulfillment of a course requirement for their participation.

Procedure

All participants completed a 13-item questionnaire about affirmative action. By random assignment, participants completed a questionnaire that made reference to one of three target groups: blacks, the physically handicapped, or the elderly. Instructions and questions referred to only one of these groups. This was accomplished through the instructions which were at the very top of the questionnaire. Those instructions read,

Nowadays there is some controversy about hiring and promotions in business organizations. Much of that controversy occurs because of various attempts to (*justification provided*) so that (*target group named*) will be hired or promoted.

The manipulation of justification used by Murrell and her colleagues was not pure. Their “no justification” condition, varied descriptions of procedure that could be reasonably characterized as “high-voice,” “low-voice.” One “no justification” description read, “Employers should consider whether an applicant is black along with other information when making selection decisions” (p. 76). This is not a justification of the policy, but is a description of how the policy is to work; a description of a high voice procedure. On top of that problem, the procedural descriptions used in the no-justification condition did not match the descriptions used in the justification conditions making it unclear to what the justification effects were due. To avoid these problems, the methodology used in the present study manipulated justification such that either the policy was being implemented to “enhance diversity” or to “make up for past discrimination.” No other information was provided in the no justification condition.

By random assignment, the instructions for the questionnaire indicated that the affirmative action policy they were to think about had been enacted either to enhance diversity, to make up for past discrimination, or for no explicitly stated reason (no justification was given).

Dependent Measures

Participants responded to one 7-point Likert-type item measure of support or resistance to affirmative action. That item read,

Some people object to special considerations being given to anyone in competition for getting jobs and being promoted in the work setting. Some people think that this is all right for groups that were discriminated against in the past (e.g. the elderly). Do you agree or disagree that some special consideration should be given to the elderly to help them get jobs.

In addition, participants responded to eight dependent variable items on seven (7) point Likert scales. Three items were designed to measure respondents’ beliefs about how hard or easy it is to get jobs (stratification beliefs), two items to measure beliefs about qualifications of target group members, two items to measure fairness, one item to measure the amount of affirmative

action, one to measure judgments of the amount of discrimination in the environment, and one item to measure the extent to which affirmative action provides guarantees.

Measures of Virtual Voice

Two items were designed to measure judgments of individual-level voice. Those items asked the respondent to think of affirmative action as requiring that positive weight be given to some group memberships. Then a scale of possible combinations of credit-weights to be given to technical credentials and group membership was presented. On a 9-point scale these combinations ranged from 95% Qualifications/5% group membership to 5% qualifications/95% group membership. The first item of this type asked participants which combinations of weights was typical of affirmative action procedures. The second asked where on the continuum of weights the participant felt that procedure was giving too much weight to group membership.

Finally, on a 7-point scale, two items were designed to assess participants images of group-level voice. One item asked respondents how much affirmative action was in the environment, whereas the other asked about the amount of discrimination. The mathematical difference between these items indicates the extent to which the respondent judges the procedural influence to be that of creating an advantage for the target group, creating equal opportunity, or leaving the group disadvantaged by discrimination.

Analysis and Results

Support for Affirmative Action

A 2 (*gender*) X 3 (*target group*) X 3 (*policy justification*) ANOVA was used to analyze responses to the support item. That analysis showed main effects for participant gender ($F_{1,126} = 4.8, p < .03$), and target group ($F_{2,126} = 22.4, p < .001$). As compared to males ($M = 3.5$), females showed more support ($M = 4.1$) for affirmative action. Means for the target group main effect show more resistance to affirmative action for blacks ($M = 2.6$) compared to affirmative action for the elderly ($M = 4.2$) and the physically handicapped ($M = 4.4$).

Dimensions of Procedural Voice

Judgments of individual-level voice were analyzed by way of the 2x3x3 ANOVA. That analysis showed main effects for participant gender ($F_{1,126} = 5.5, p < .02$), and policy target group ($F_{1,126} = 8.6, p < .001$). Females judged the imagined typical affirmative action procedure to weight group membership more appropriately ($M = 1.1$) than did males ($M = .29$). The main effect for target group showed that the typical procedure was imagined to give more unnecessary weight to group membership when the target group was blacks ($M = -.42$) than when the target group was the elderly ($M = 1.0$) or the physically handicapped ($M = 1.3$).

Also on judgments of individual-level voice, an interaction of target group and participant gender was obtained ($F_{2,126} = 3.2, p < .04$). By the pattern of mean responses, that interaction showed, (1) that for all target groups females imagined the typical procedure to weight group

membership appropriately, and (2) that for males the imagined procedure differed by target group, such that group membership was judged to be given too much weight when the target group was blacks.

Responses to the group-level voice index were analyzed by way of the 2x3x3 ANOVA. That analysis showed only a main effect for target group ($F_{1,125} = 7.8, p < .001$). Participants estimated that affirmative action created an advantage when the target group was blacks ($M = -.93$), but that affirmative action did not influence discrimination when the target group was the elderly ($M = .73$) or the physically handicapped ($M = .42$).

Factor analysis

Responses to the eight dependent variable items were subjected to principle components factor analysis (with varimax rotation) to establish orthogonal factors. That analysis showed three coherent, orthogonal factors: (1) stratification beliefs, (2) applicant qualifications, and (3) fairness. Items in each cluster were summed to create an index.

A 2x3x3 analysis of stratification beliefs showed no influence of any independent variable. For applicant qualifications that analysis showed only a main effect for participant gender ($F_{1,126} = 3.97, p < .05$). Applicants were judged to be more qualified by females ($M = 4.1$) than males ($M = 3.2$). Judgments of fairness were influenced by target group. Using the 2x3x3 analysis for judgments of fairness, the analysis showed a main effect for target group ($F_{1,126} = 17.8, p < .001$). Affirmative action was judged to be less fair when the target group was blacks ($M = 2.7$) as compared to the elderly ($M = 3.5$) and the physically handicapped ($M = 3.9$).

Possible Causes of Resistance

Among the measures analyzed, what are the causes of support for affirmative action? Correlational analyses showed that support is not correlated with stratification beliefs ($r = -.03$), but is correlated with anticipated qualifications of applicants ($r = .32, p < .001$), procedural fairness ($r = .67$), as well as individual-level voice ($r = .44, p < .001$) and group-level voice ($r = .29, p < .001$).

On the one hand the aversive racism framework only tells us that fairness is being used as a subtle expression of racism. That implies that the link between target group and expressed evaluations of fairness is direct. On the other hand, the procedural justice analysis makes it clear that voice, fairness, and support should be linked to each other. The linkages are also specified as going from voice to fairness to support.

To follow the procedural justice analysis, fairness responses were analyzed using participants judgments of individual-level and group-level voice. That analysis showed that main effects for individual-level ($F_{1,132} = 23.1, p < .001$) and group-level voice ($F_{2,132} = 4.6, p < .01$). Fairness evaluations were higher among those who made a judgment that the procedure was high voice ($M = 3.8$) as compared to low voice ($M = 2.7$). Likewise fairness evaluations were higher when group-level voice judgments indicated the procedures led to equal opportunity ($M = 3.7$) or

failed to eradicate discrimination ($M = 3.6$), compared to the judgment that the target group was now unduly advantaged ($M = 2.9$) by the procedures.

An analysis of covariance was conducted to see if these patterns changed when target group was controlled. That analysis showed that although target group was a significant covariate ($F_{1,131} = 16.82, p < .001$), the main effect for individual-level voice remained significant ($F_{1,131} = 19.2, p < .001$), as did the interaction of individual-level and group-level voice ($F_{1,131} = 3.56, p < .03$).

Finally, a series of regression models was used to analyze influences on support. The first model included the variables in the original ANOVA, gender, justification, and target group. From that point on variables related to the procedural justice analysis were added: judgments of the two dimensions of voice and fairness evaluations, in that order. That analysis showed that when all these variables are used to predict support, although target group remains as a significant predictor, individual-level voice and fairness are also significant predictors. Indeed, with target group controlled, the most powerful predictor is procedural fairness.

Discussion

Wherever equal opportunity issues are being discussed and implemented, there are potential dangers. Murrell et al. (1994) argue that one of the dangers is that these policies will be rejected on the basis of what group is being targeted. Their analysis misses the potential influence of what the evidence presented in this paper suggests is a far more likely danger.

There appears to be the possibility that when people only “hear about” equal opportunity policies, without concrete descriptions, they will construct a cognitive model of the policy procedures. That model, however, is hidden; it is a stealth model. While efforts are being directed at trying to increase support for a policy, by reducing intergroup antagonisms, the stealth model of the policy procedures is doing real damage. It’s not on radar, but it’s doing damage.

The experiment reported was conducted to demonstrate that what appear to be target group effects are effects of the hidden or virtual model of an equal opportunity policy. The results are unequivocal in showing that the most powerful influences on support (or conversely resistance) are dimensions of the policy procedure, which are the best predictors of the evaluated fairness of the policy. Even where target group influenced evaluated fairness, that influence worked through judgments of group-level voice.

To accept that conclusion, logic required that it be demonstrated that below the apparent reactions to target groups are a set of judgments about procedures. Making one target group salient would have to make salient a certain virtual model of affirmative action procedures. That finding was obtained.

But why are different virtual models associated with different target groups? The answer may be simple exposure. When we hear about equal opportunity, affirmative action issues, mostly we hear about race--blacks vs. whites. Not only that, but we hear extreme cases--cases

where group membership has been used inordinately, or is described as having been so used. For that reason only, Americans have more extreme models of the procedures of affirmative action involving African-Americans.

What implications does this have for the military? First, the military must recognize that their members are being influenced by virtual models of equal opportunity programs in the military. Second, that influence is probably the strongest at the point of entry. New recruits of all levels are bringing with them the virtual models of equal opportunity that they have developed in the civilian world. When those new recruits begin to encounter the most diverse workforce in the world, the virtual models will be activated, and will influence social interactions (Nacoste, 1994b). But the danger is not just among the new; virtual models can influence the behavior of new or old personnel decision makers (Nacoste & Hummels, 1994). Indeed, it may be that these virtual models are one of the causes of the periodic attraction to hate groups of members of the military. To avoid these problems, the military should (and must) make an effort to fully explain its equal opportunity policies (for a similar recommendation to universities, see Nacoste, 1995). Not just on paper, and in classes in boot camps, those policies should be the subject of periodic educational review sessions within work groups in the field. Without such review, the stealth model will once again come to fly overhead, and no one will know how the damage is being done.

References

- Bunzel, J. H. (1986). Affirmative re-actions. Public Opinion, 9, 45-49.
- Kravitz, D. A., & Platania, J. (1993). Attitudes and beliefs about affirmative action: Effects of target and of respondent sex and ethnicity. Journal of Applied Psychology, 78, 928-938.
- Markus, H., & Zajonc, R. (1985). The cognitive perspective in social psychology. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), The Handbook of Social Psychology (pp. 137-230). New York: Random House.
- Murrell, A. J., Dietz-Uhler, B. L., Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Drout, C. (1994). Aversive racism and resistance to affirmative action: Perceptions of justice are not necessarily color blind. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 15, 71-86.
- Nacoste, R. W. (1990). Sources of stigma: Analyzing the psychology of affirmative action. Law and Policy, 12, 175-195.
- Nacoste, R. W. (1994a). Policy schemas for affirmative action. In L. Heath, R. S. Tindale, J. Edwards, E. J. Posavac, F. B. Bryant, E. Henderson-King, Y. Suarez-Balcazar, & J. Myers (Eds.), Applications of heuristics and biases to social issues (pp. 205-221). New York: Plenum Press.
- Nacoste, R. W. (1994b). If empowerment is the goal...: Affirmative action and social interaction. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 15, 87-112.

Nacoste, R. W. (1995, April 7). The truth about affirmative action. The Chronicle of Higher Education, p. A48.

Rioux, S., & Penner, L. A. (1997). Aversive racism, aversive sexism, and reactions to affirmative action programs. Paper presented at the 105th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, August 15-19, Chicago.

Thibaut, J. W., & Walker, L. (1978). A theory of procedure. California Law Review, 66, 541-566.

1445

Invited Speaker

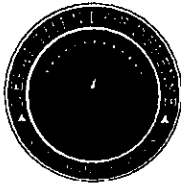
Dr. W. S. Sellman
Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Force Management Policy)

The Effect of Youth Attitudes and Interests on Military Recruiting

Abstract

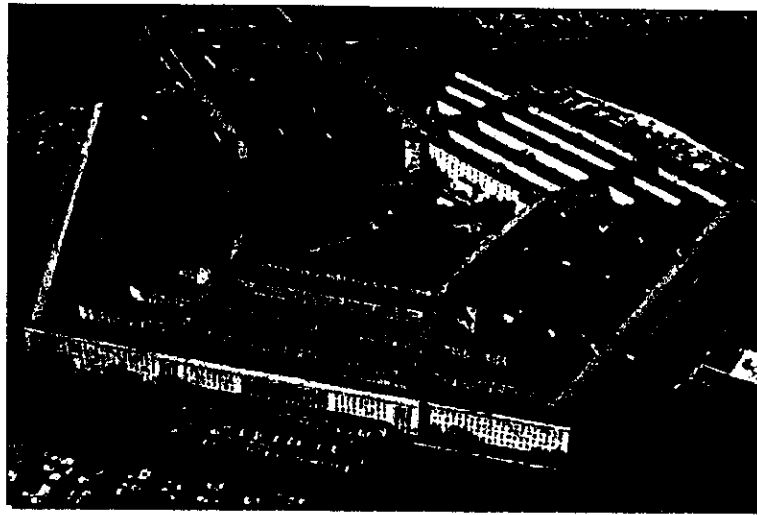
In FY 1997, the Services met their quality and quantity recruiting objectives, although recruiting was more challenging than in previous years. FY 1998 promises to be equally challenging given austere recruiting budgets and a decline in youth propensity to enlist. This presentation summarizes FY 1997 recruiting results as well as provide recruiting forecasts for FY 1998. In addition, recent surveys and focus group research on youth attitudes toward the military also are discussed. Such information is used by the Department of Defense to develop and justify recruiting budgets and to shape and formulate advertising campaigns and enlistment incentives.

(Note: Dr. Sellman provided the following slides as a summary of his presentation)



Assessing Youth Interest in the Military

W.S. Sellman
Director
Accession Policy



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997

1

YATS Survey Background

- **Survey Administration**
 - Computer assisted telephone interviews
 - Annual Fall administration
 - Total annual sample: 10,000
- **Population**
 - 16 - 24 year-old men and women
 - No military experience

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997

2

YATS Survey Contents

- **Propensity for Military Service**
- **Recruiting Advertising Awareness**
- **Service Academy/ROTC Interest**
- **Reasons for Joining**
- **Influencers and Perceptions**
- **Special topics**
 - Enlistment Incentives
 - Downsizing Effects
 - Gang Membership
 - In-Depth Women Interviews

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 3

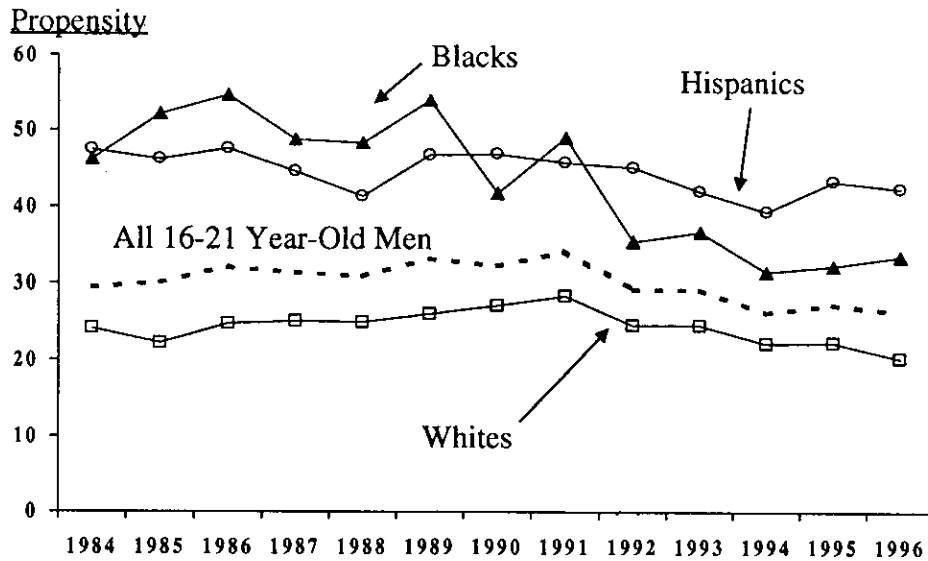
Propensity Trends

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 4

Composite Active Propensity

16-21 Year-Old Men

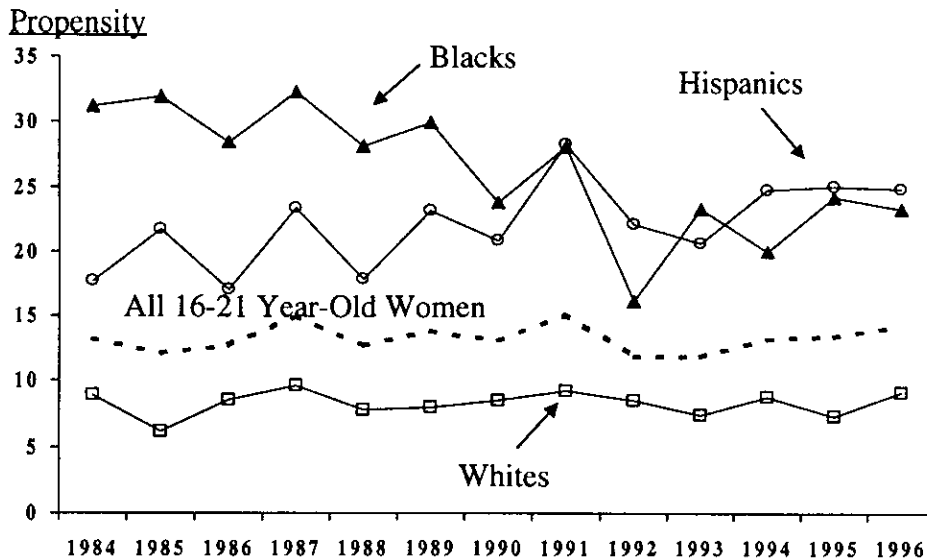


Source: 1984 - 1996 YATS
Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 5

Composite Active Propensity

16-21 Year-Old Women

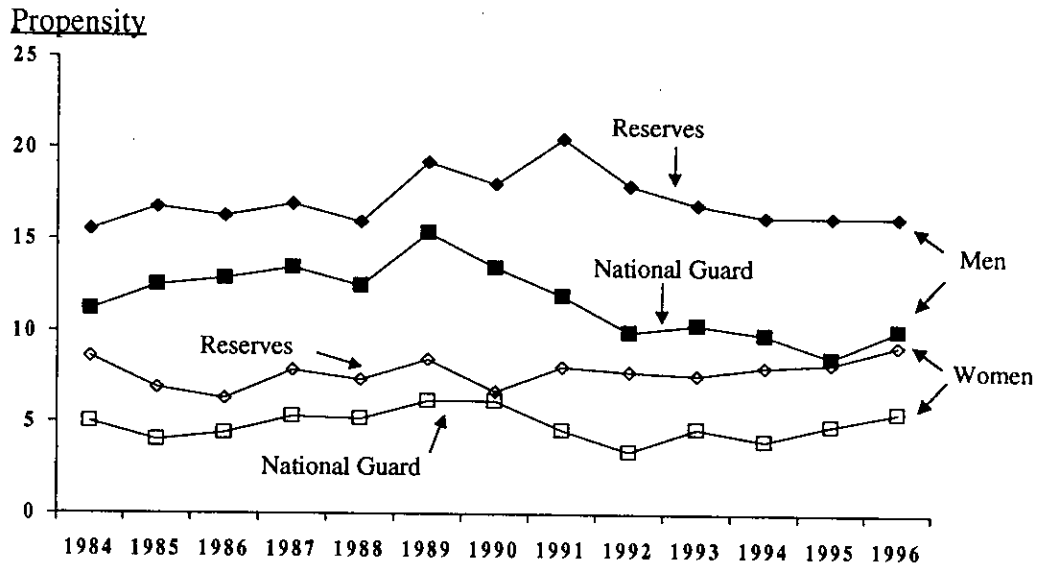


Source: 1984 - 1996 YATS
Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 6

Reserve Component Propensity

16-21 Year-Olds



Source: 1984 - 1996 YATS
Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 7

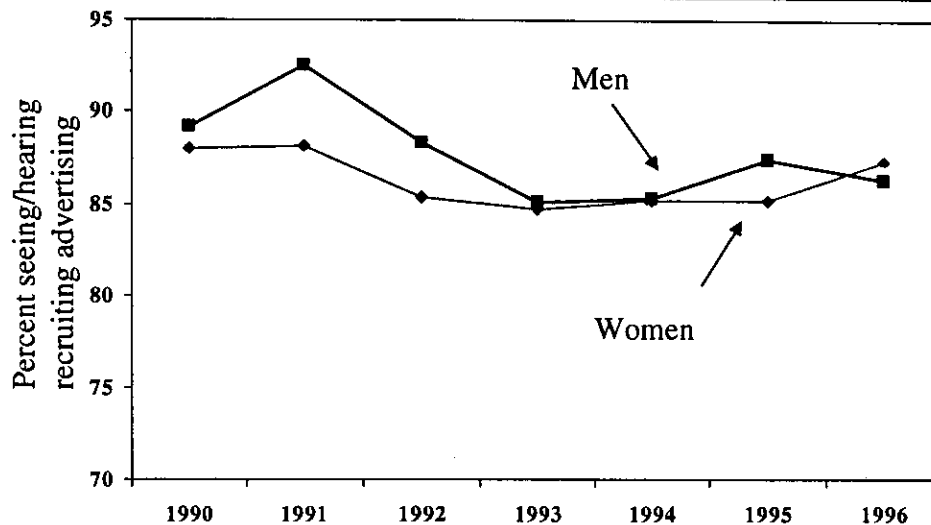
Advertising Awareness

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 8

Advertising Awareness 16-21 Year-Olds

Within the past year, do you recall seeing or hearing any advertising that encouraged people to enlist in one or more of the Services?



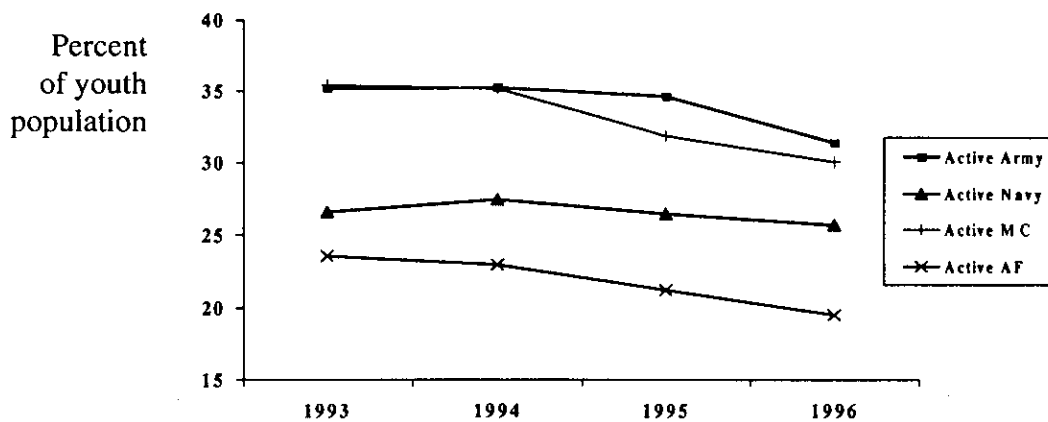
Source: 1990 - 1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 9

Advertising Awareness Active Service Trends 16-21 Year-Old Men

Within the past year, do you recall seeing or hearing any advertising that encouraged people to enlist in one or more Services?
For which Military Services did you see this kind of advertising? Any others?



Source: 1993-1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

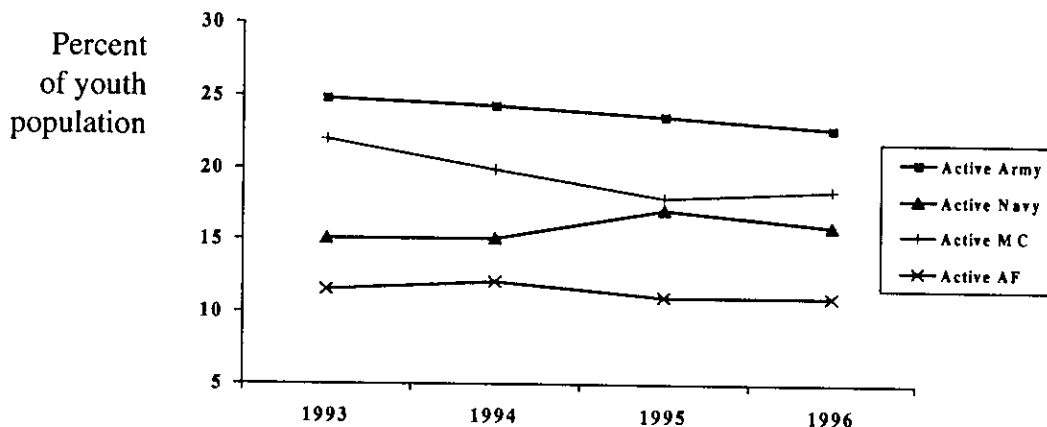
December 1997 10

Advertising Awareness

Active Service Trends

16-21 Year-Old Women

Within the past year, do you recall seeing or hearing any advertising that encouraged people to enlist in one or more Services?
For which Military Services did you see this kind of advertising? Any others?



Source: 1993-1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 11

Military Life After Basic Training

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 12

Military Life After Basic Training

- Many focus group subjects expressed very negative “boot camp” images of military service
 - “Waking up real early in the morning, like three or four, and doing push-ups and all that”
 - “Ain’t nobody going to yell in my face ... “
- Implication: that “boot camp” misperception of military service retards propensity and increases difficulty of recruiting

Source: DMDC, 1995 Focus Groups

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 13

Military Life After Basic Training

YATS asked:

Many young people have an idea of initial military training or basic training which includes waking early and strenuous physical training. We want to know your perceptions of military life after basic training.

Would you say you have:

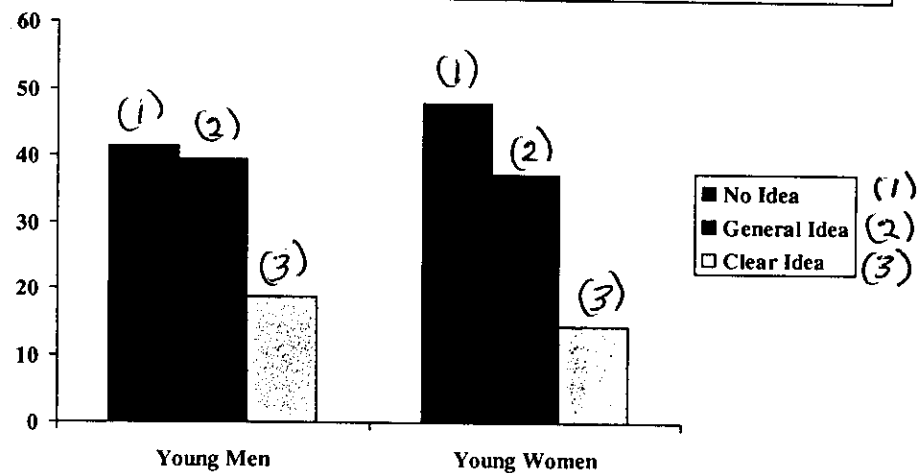
- no idea,
 - only a general idea, or
 - a pretty clear idea
- of military life after basic training?

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 14

Military Life After Basic Training

Would you say you have no idea, only a general idea, or a pretty clear idea of military life after basic training?



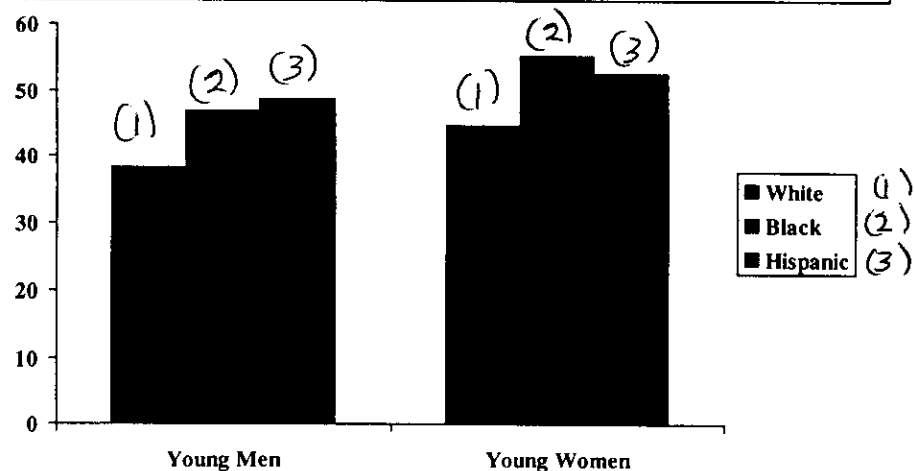
Source: 1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 15

Military Life After Basic Training

Would you say you have no idea of military life after basic training?



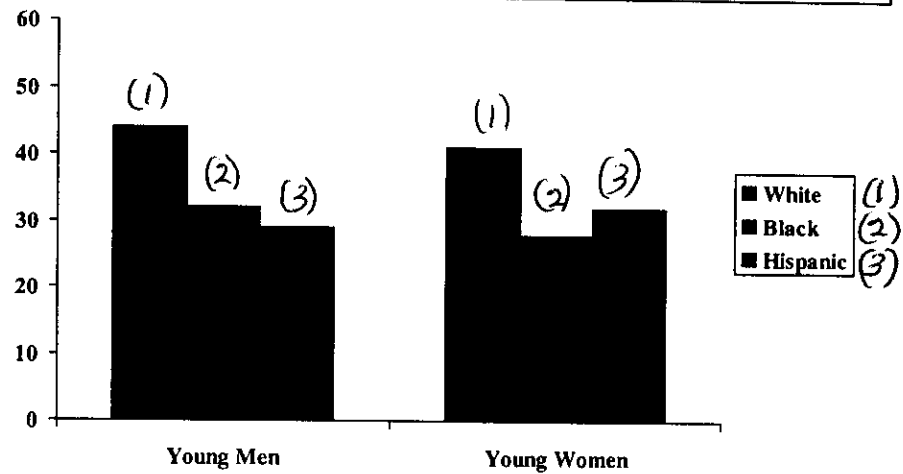
Source: 1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 16

Military Life After Basic Training

Would you say you have only a general idea of military life after basic training?



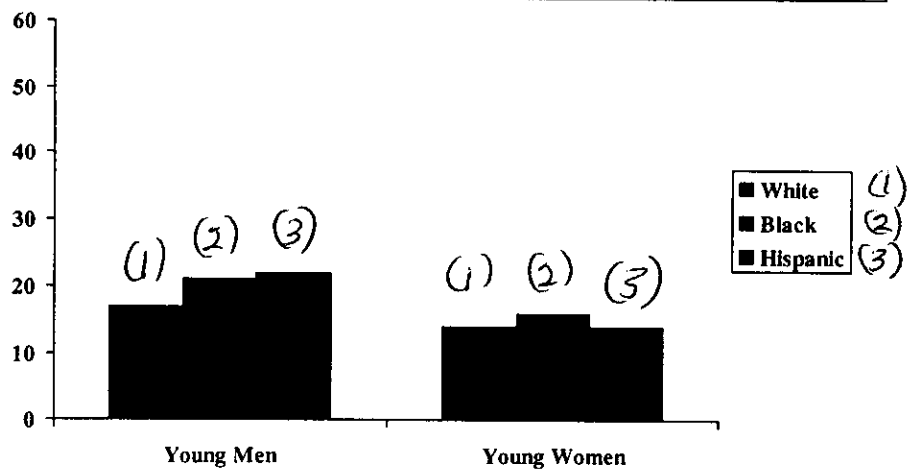
Source: 1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 17

Military Life After Basic Training

Would you say you have a pretty clear idea of military life after basic training?



Source: 1996 YATS

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 18

Military Life After Basic Training

Summary

- About half of young men and women have no idea of military life after basic training.
- Those with friends who are/have been in military service are more likely to have some knowledge of military life, but very few seem to have detailed knowledge.
- Those who are ignorant of military lifestyles are somewhat more likely to indicate a “boot camp” perception of military life.

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

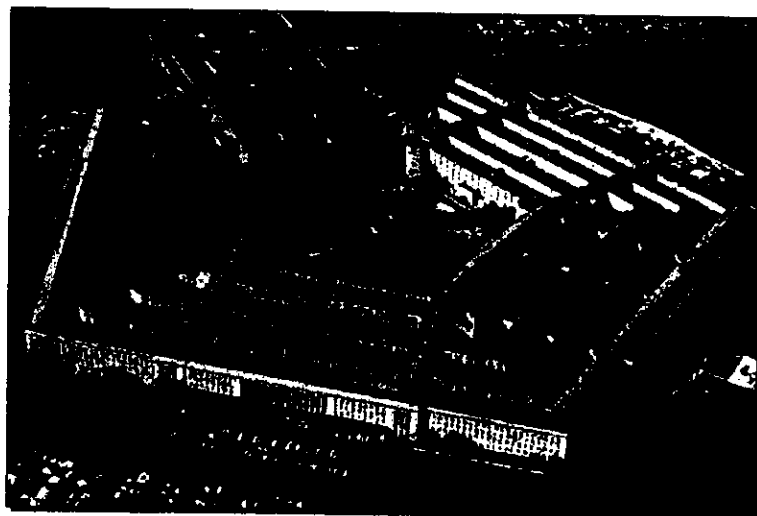
December 1997 19

Military Recruiting



FY 1997 Results...FY 1998 Outlook

W.S. Sellman
Director
Accession Policy



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 20

Overview...

- FY 1997 Recruiting Results
- FY 1998 Outlook: Key Indicators
- Our Concerns

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 21

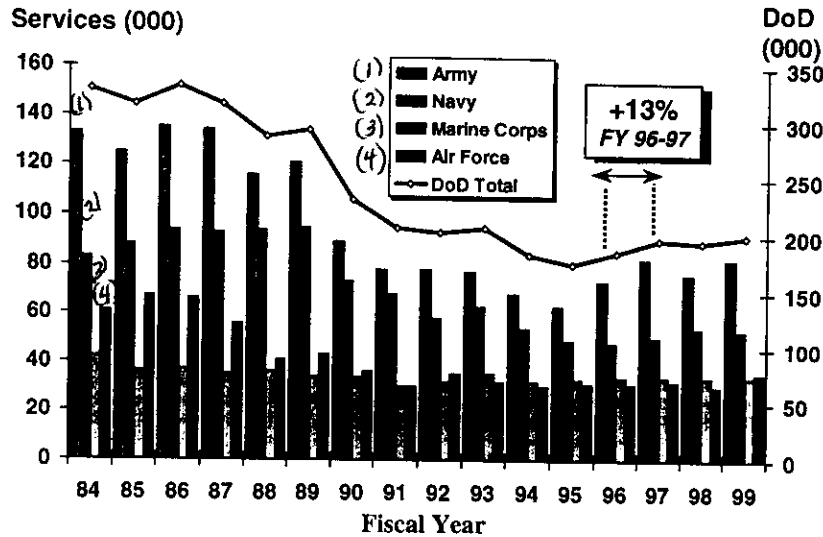
FY 97 Recruiting Results: Active Enlisted Accessions

- QUANTITY: All Services met non-prior service (NPS) recruiting goals
- QUALITY: In a challenging recruiting environment, we held the line on quality standards

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 22

Active Enlisted Accessions - 1984-1999



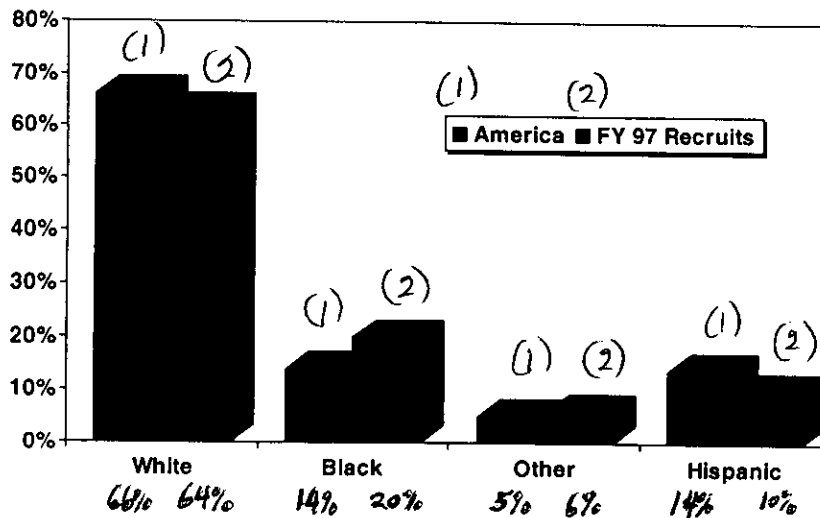
(In each grouping, Army is first, Navy second, Marine Corps third, + Air Force fourth.)

FY 1997 -- data as of 30 Sep 97; FYs 1998-99 -- OSD Budget Submission

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 23

Recruit Demographics (Race, Ethnicity) Versus American Youth...



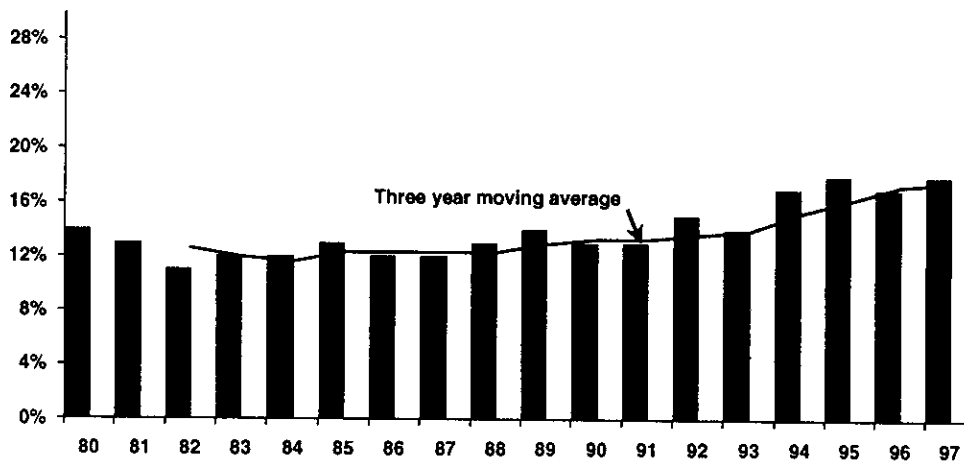
Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 24

Recruit Demographics (Women)

Enlistment of Women Over Time...

Percent of Non-Prior Service Recruits



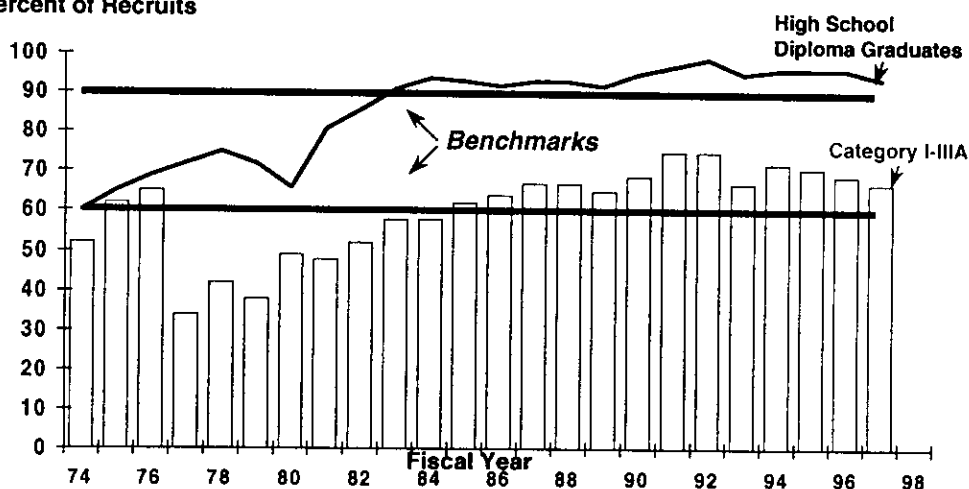
Fiscal Year

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 25

DoD Recruit Quality Versus Benchmarks (Floors)...

Percent of Recruits



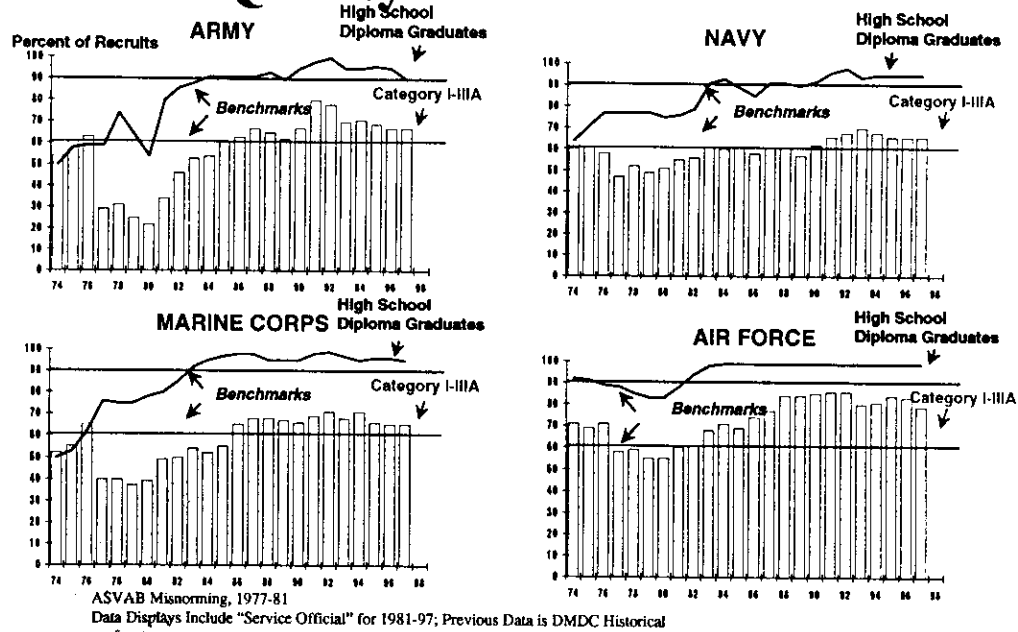
ASVAB Misnorming, 1977-81

Data Displays Include "Service Official" for 1981-97; Previous Data is DMDC Historical

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 26

Recruit Quality



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 27

FY 1998 Recruiting Outlook

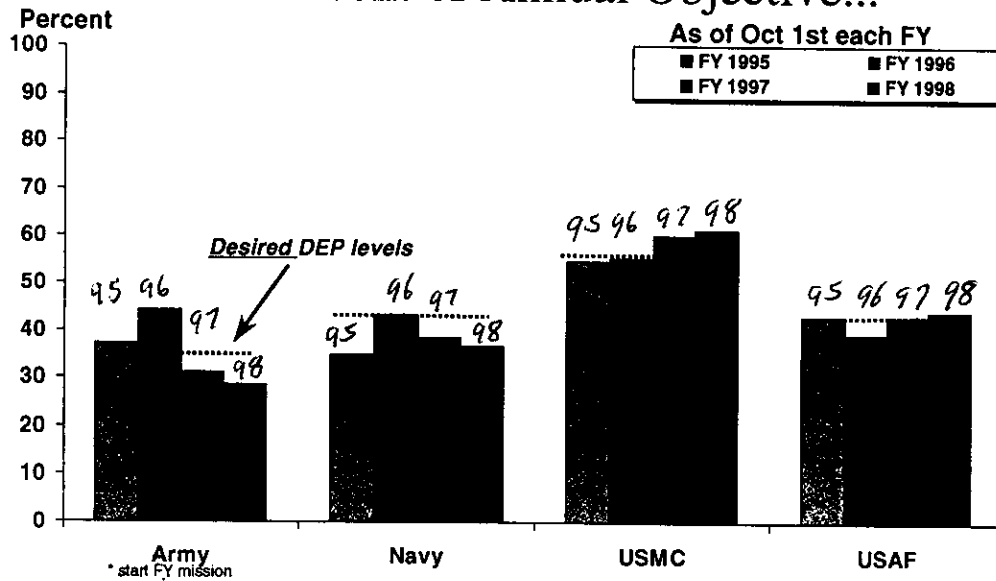
Key Indicators:

- **DEP Status**
- **Resources and Quality**
- **Supply vs Mission**

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 28

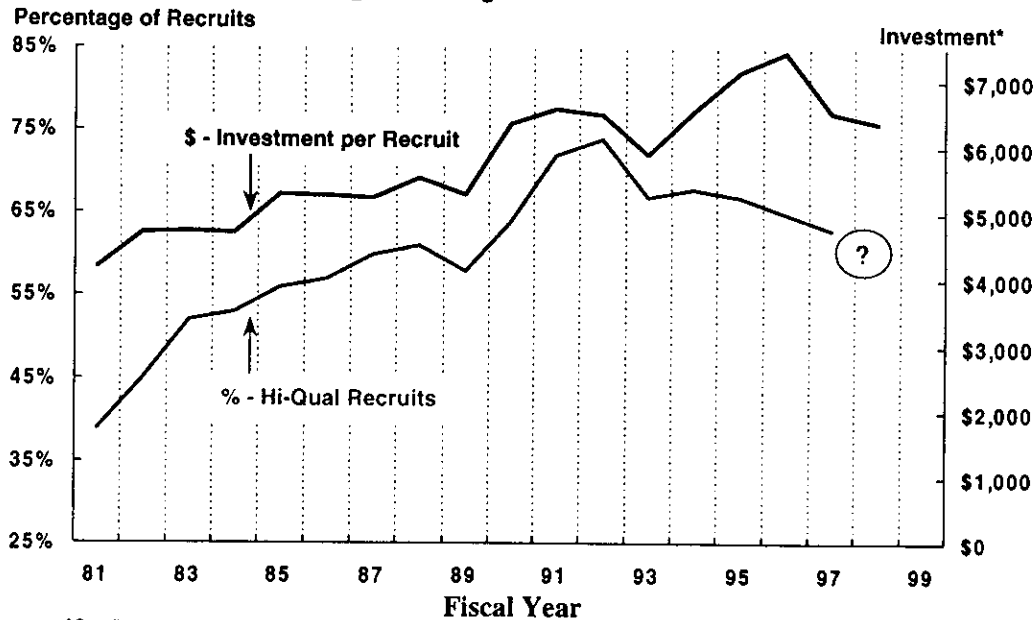
Delayed Entry Program (DEP) Status As Percent of Annual Objective...



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 29

Resources & Quality



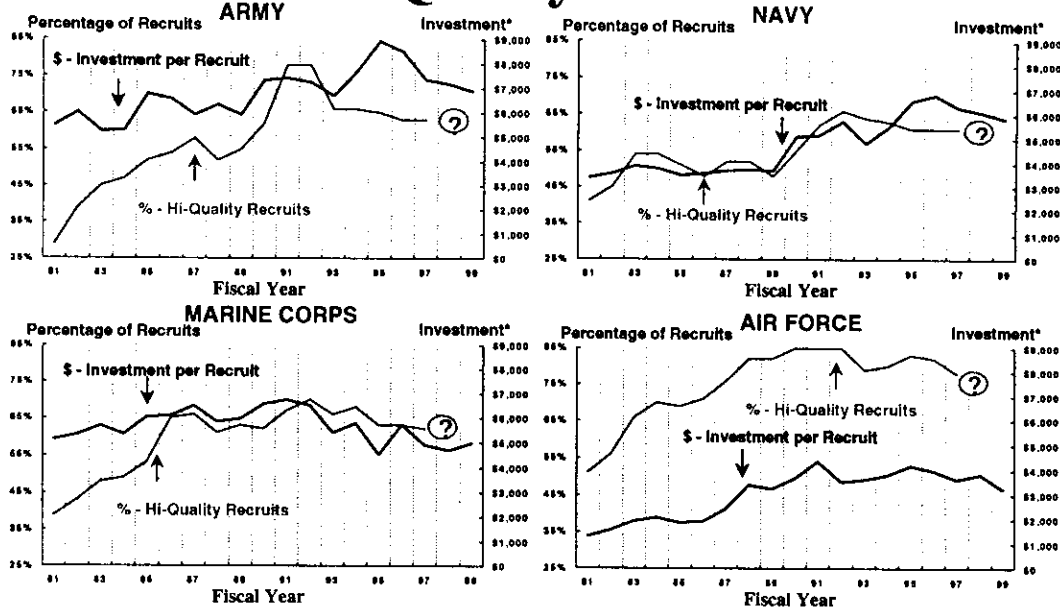
* Spending means recruiters, recruiter support, advertising, education benefits, and bonuses per recruit in the year shown (constant FY 1996 dollars).

Hi-Qual = HSDG/I-III.A.

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 30

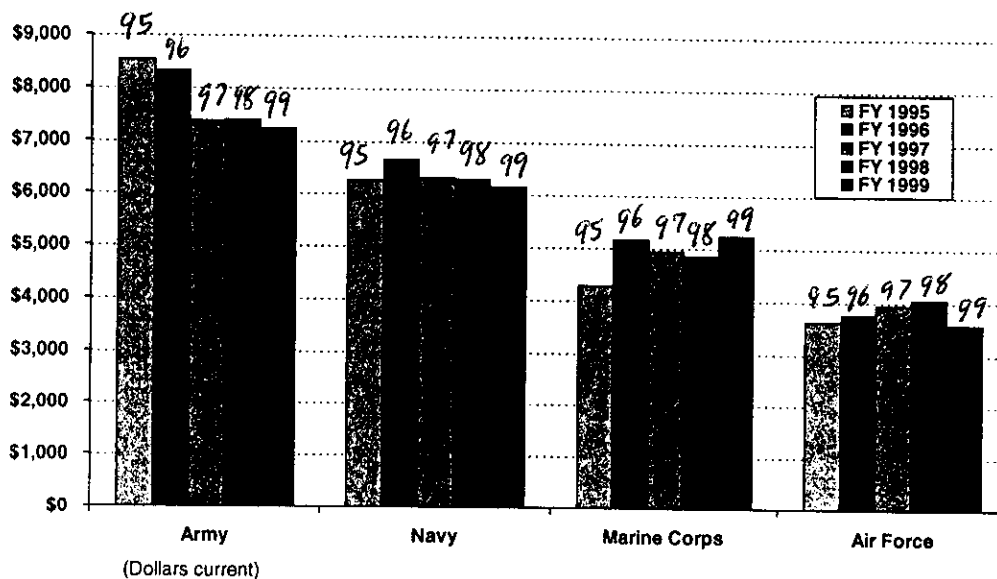
Resources & Quality



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 31

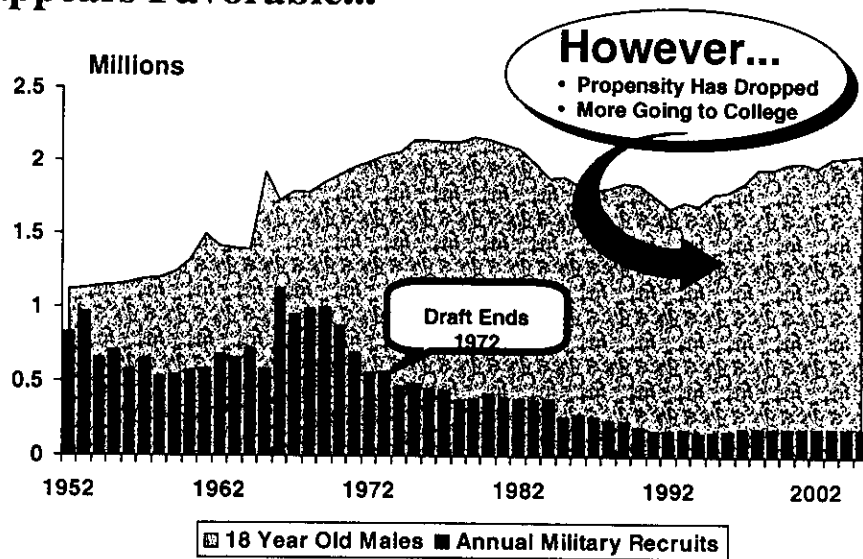
Investment Per Accession (By Service)



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 32

Supply vs Mission: Appears Favorable...



Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 33

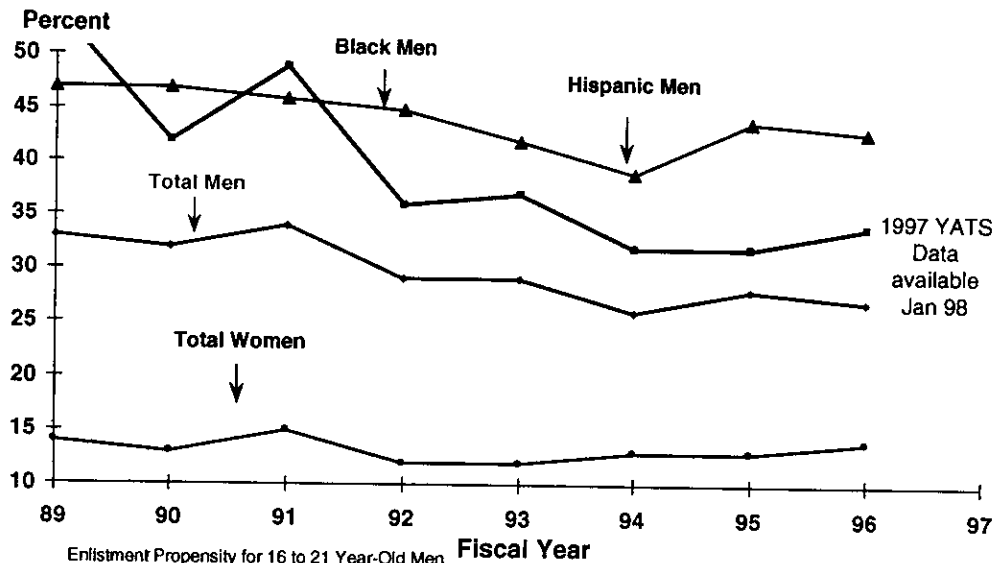
Our Concerns

- Propensity to Enlist
- Recruiter Survey Results
- Media Perceptions

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 34

Propensity to Enlist Appears to have stabilized....



December 1997 35

Recruiter Morale Down & Stress Up

- Increased Percentages of Recruiters:
 - Perceive goals as not attainable
 - Work more than 60 hours per week
 - Feel they do not receive good supervisory support
 - Express overall dissatisfaction with recruiting

(Statements based on DoD Recruiter survey results for 1989, 1991, 1994, 1996)

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 36

Media Perceptions

- Washingtonian Article: Factual account
 - Spotlights our limitations
 - Unable to access juvenile records
 - States don't provide comprehensive data to FBI
 - Points to need for legislation
 - Waiver process is sound
 - Recruiting commands do not condone or endorse recruitment of individuals with concealed offense histories
- GAO to review moral character screening process at behest of SASC

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 37

Summary...

- ☑ **FY 1997 - Services Met Accession Goals...**
 - Met DoD Quality Benchmarks
- ☑ **FY 1998 Recruiting More Challenging...**
 - Recruiting resource and quality concerns
- ☑ **Propensity down, may have stabilized**
- ☑ **Surveys document high recruiter stress**
- ☑ **Recent media reports focused on recruiting**

Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy)

December 1997 38

Panel Session 1

*Equal Opportunity Climate in the Military Services:
Past, Present, and Future*⁵⁰

Paul Rosenfeld & Amy Culbertson
Navy Personnel Research and Development Center

Morris Peterson & Naomi Verdugo
Army Research Institute

M. R. Dansby
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

Abstract

As the face of the U.S. population changes, the military and the nature of military equal opportunity research also has become more diverse. During the 1960s and 1970s issues related to equal opportunity (EO) typically involved comparisons between Blacks and the White majority group. Recent research efforts have a wider scope, including women as well as Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans. A central feature of EO research in the military is the assessment of EO climate--the perceptions that people have about the degree to which work-related behaviors directed towards them reflect merit and are not due to their racial/ethnic status or gender. While there were efforts beginning in the 1970s to use the framework of organizational climate surveys as a “racial barometer,” the development of survey instruments specially designed to measure military EO climate first occurred in the late 1980s. This panel reviews research efforts to measure the EO climate in the four major military services: Navy, Marine Corps, Army, and Air Force. Researchers working in each of the services present a historical perspective on their experiences in regards to EO climate assessment, current initiatives, and plans for the future.

(NOTE: The following slides were presented in the panel)

⁵⁰ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

Equal Opportunity Climate in the Military Services: Past, Present, and Future

Panel Introduction

by Amy Culbertson

DEOMI Equal Opportunity Research Symposium
December 1997

The opinions expressed here are those of the author. They are not official and do not necessarily represent the views of the Navy Department.

2

Military EO Research

- n Research on EO in the military was to assist the military services in attaining their EO goals
 - u Initial work primarily focused on establishing policy, plans, programs, and awareness training
 - u Studies covered a range of interpersonal, social, and organizational issues
- n Provided experience and lessons learned that applied to both military and civilian organizations

3

Introduction

- n Military services more so than civilian organizations reflect the diversity of the U.S. population
- n Leaders have needed assistance on how to maximize this diversity to achieve key military outcomes
 - u Unit cohesion
 - u Combat effectiveness
 - u Mission accomplishment

Military Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment

- n 1970s saw increase in the use organizational climate surveys to gauge behaviors and attitudes among military personnel
- n 1980s saw wide-spread implementation of EO surveys as measurement tools for leaders
- n 1990s brought awareness of the difficulties of truly changing EO climate
 - u Highlighted the need to look at military organization from a systems perspective

4

The Past, Present, and Future

- n Panel will review research efforts to measure EO climate in the four major military services
- n Each presenter will discuss:
 - u Past experiences
 - u Present initiatives
 - u Future plans
- n Thoughts on how the EO climate assessment process has affected organizational change

5

Panel Members

- n Paul Rosenfeld - Navy
 - u Navy Personnel Research and Development Center
- n Amy Culbertson - Marine Corps
 - u Navy Personnel Research and Development Center
- n Naomi Verdugo - Army
 - u Headquarters, Department of the Army
- n Mickey Dansby - Air Force
 - u Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute

6

Equal Opportunity Climate Assessment in the Marine Corps

Amy Culbertson

Navy Personnel Research and Development Center
DEOMI Equal Opportunity Research Symposium
December 1997

The opinions expressed here are those of the author. They are not official and do not necessarily represent the views of the Navy Department.

The Past - Early 1990s

- ◆ July 1992 recommendation made to the Commandant of the Marine Corps from the Secretary of the Navy's Standing Committee on Women in the Department of the Navy (DON)

- ◆ Marine Corps implement an equal opportunity climate survey

- ◆ Purpose was to establish baseline measurement of equal opportunity (EO) climate

- ◆ Also designed to assess occurrence of sexual harassment (SH) and effectiveness of training

◆ The Past - Organizational Changes

- ◆ Sept 1993 EO Branch moved from Human Resources to Manpower Plans & Policy

- ◆ Sept 1993 Advisor to the Commandant on EO matters re-established

- ◆ Sept 1993 the Equal Opportunity Advisor (EOA) program begins

- ◆ Aug 1994 a full-time civilian joins EO Branch as Deputy Head

- ◆ **The Past - First Marine Corps-wide EO Climate Assessment**

- ◆ May 1994 the Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS) is administered

- ◆ Results briefed to the Commandant in Nov 1994

 - ◆ Larger gaps in EO climate perceptions among officers compared to enlisted

 - ◆ About 1/3 of women reported experiencing sexual harassment

- ◆ **The Past - Actions Taken**

- ◆ Sponsoring of new tools for Commanders

 - ◆ Videotapes for training

 - ◆ Resolving EO/EEO Complaints: A Commander's Handbook

 - ◆ Sponsoring of a computerized tool to assess EO climate at the command level (MCCAS)

- ◆ Tasking to develop Reserve version of the Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS-R)

- ◆ **The Past: Second MCEOS/MCEOS-R**

- ◆ MCEOS and MCEOS-R administered in Spring 1996

- ◆ Nov 1996 results briefed to Commandant

 - ◆ Some indicators of positive change

 - ◆ Black male officers have more positive perceptions of EO climate overall in 1996

- ◆ Data reflected some continuing areas of concern
 - ◆ Continuing experiences of racial and gender discrimination behaviors
 - ◆ Small change in rates of SH
- ◆ **The Past: Actions Taken**
- ◆ Leadership frustrated with the lack of change at the unit level
 - ◆ ALMAR (Subj: Wake-up call) disseminated MCEOS results to Marine Corps leadership
 - ◆ Copies of MCEOS Management Report distributed to Commanders
 - ◆ Commandant video reiterating the Marine Corps policy released
 - ◆ Decision to move up next survey administration date
 - ◆ Sponsoring of the Consultant's Guide for Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Advisors (EOAs)
- ◆ **The Present: The Consultant's Guide for EOAs**
- ◆ EO program is part of a larger process of organizational change
- ◆ Consultant's Guide is advice manual for affecting organizational change
 - ◆ Expertise from consultants who have worked in the EO and quality management arena for over a decade
 - ◆ Gleaned the best practices of experienced Marine Corps EOAs
- ◆ Training provided during service-specific segment of DEOMI 15-week course for EOAs

◆ **The Present: Consultant's Guide Topics**

- ◆ Framework for understanding organizational change
- ◆ How EO climate surveys can facilitate organizational change
- ◆ EOAs as organizational consultants and change agents
- ◆ Consulting tips from experienced EOAs
- ◆ The 10 step MCCAS Consulting Process

◆ **The Present: The Third Administration of**

◆ **MCEOS/MCEOS-R**

- ◆ Currently in the process of analyzing the data - preparing brief for the Commandant
- ◆ Will have three data points
 - ◆ Assess the direction of change in perceptions and behaviors
 - ◆ Provide feedback on impact of past interventions
 - ◆ Provide information on how to target future intervention efforts

◆ **The Future**

- ◆ Tasking after Commandant brief in 1998 will lay groundwork for next few years
- ◆ Continue to face the challenge of changing organizational climate and behavior in regards to EO
- ◆ Administer MCEOS/MCEOS-R on biennial basis
 - ◆ Maintain Marine Corps survey that answers service-specific questions
 - ◆ Vehicle to provide HQs leadership with information from Marines serving in units throughout the world

Climate Assessment in the Army



Naomi Verdugo, PhD

**Headquarters, Department of the Army
Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel
Human Resources Directorate**

Telephone: 703-697-8989 DSN: 227-8989

Email: verdun@hqda.army.mil

Human Resources Directorate

Then & Now

<i>1945</i>		<i>1997</i>
8M	Force Size	491.7K
23%	Married - Enlisted	60%
65%	Officer	76%
6M	Total # of Family Members	746K
2.8	Avg # of Children	1.9
24	Median age - Enlisted	26
28	Officer	34
1.9%	Gender: Female	14.5%
14%	Minority Composition	38%
33mth	Avg Duration of Service	8yrs
64%	Education: < H.S.	4%
24%	H.S. Diploma	96%
12%	Some College	20%

Human Resources Directorate

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE

Past

- ***Army-wide surveys since 1943***
- ***Race ID since 1943 (excl 56-68)***
- ***Separate women's surveys 1958-73; since 1974 same survey with gender ID***
- ***Racial tension & confrontation item since 1973***

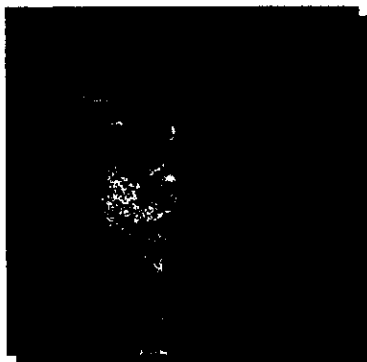


Controversy, focus on Blacks & Whites

Human Resources Directorate

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CLIMATE

Late 1980s, Early 90s



- ***More focus on EO/Discrimination***
- ***Questions standardized to provide baseline and track change***
- ***Increased focus on women***
- ***Sexual Harassment asked first in 1981, more commonly since 1987***

Unit Climate Profile developed in 1986

Conduct of Climate Assessment "Strongly Recommended"

Human Resources Directorate

COMMAND CLIMATE

Near Term

- Assessment is MANDATORY for all CDRs
- New survey mandatory for company CDR, voluntary for BN CDR
- Results confidential
- Revised SH & race relations questions for Army-wide survey



Emphasis on Command Climate versus EO Climate

Human Resources Directorate

WHERE WE'RE HEADING

- *Bringing leadership to bear*
- *Emphasis at most senior levels*
- *Working to broaden EO to "Human Relations" & enhance image of EOA*
- *Focus on professionalism & values*



**COMMUNICATION AND "PEOPLE"
SKILLS ARE KEY**

Human Resources Directorate

COMMAND CLIMATE SURVEY (VERSION 1.3)

SURVEY APPROVAL AUTHORITY: U.S. Army Research
Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences
Alexandria, VA 22333-5600
Telephone (703) 617-7801, DSN 767-7801
e-mail: APSO@ari.army.mil
SURVEY CONTROL NUMBER: PERI-AO-97-11
RCS: MILPC-3

Strongly disagree |
Disagree |
Neither agree nor disagree |
Agree |
Strongly agree |

INSTRUCTIONS

YOUR OPEN, HONEST RESPONSES ARE NEEDED
TO PROVIDE INFORMATION FOR DECISIONS
AFFECTING YOUR UNIT.

- The survey is anonymous.
- Only group statistics will be reported.
- Circle the number to indicate your response for each question.
- Put the completed survey in the envelope provided.
- Place the survey/envelope in the drop box or return it to the person who gave it to you.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION!

Do you agree or disagree with the following
statements about you and your unit?

- | | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neither agree nor disagree | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|----------------------------|-------|----------------|
| 1. Officers in this unit care about what happens to their soldiers. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. NCOs in this unit care about what happens to their soldiers. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. Enlisted members in this unit care about what happens to each other. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. It is easy for soldiers in this unit to see the CO about a problem. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. It is easy for soldiers in this unit to see the 1SG about a problem. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6. Members in my work unit work well together as a team. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 7. In terms of work habits and on-the-job behavior, my immediate supervisor sets the right example by his/her actions. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

8. I receive the counseling and coaching needed to advance in my career. 5 4 3 2 1

9. I receive the training needed to perform my job well. 5 4 3 2 1

10. Are racist material(s) displayed by members of this unit?

4. No
3. Yes, once in a while
2. Yes, frequently
1. Yes, very frequently

11. Are sexually offensive material(s) displayed by members of this unit?

4. No
3. Yes, once in a while
2. Yes, frequently
1. Yes, very frequently

12. What level of conflict/stress are you experiencing in this unit?

6. None
5. Slight
4. Moderate
3. High
2. Very high
1. Extremely High

13. Usually, how far in advance do you know the unit training schedule; that is, where you will be and what you will be doing?

5. 14 or more days
4. 11-13 days
3. 8-10 days
2. 4-7 days
1. 1-3 days

14. During your last permanent change of station--PCS--move (to this unit), how helpful was this unit?

5. Extremely helpful
4. Very helpful
3. Moderately helpful
2. Slightly helpful
1. Not at all helpful

(Continued)

15. To what extent do the persons in your chain of command treat you with respect?
5. Very great extent
 4. Great extent
 3. Moderate extent
 2. Slight extent
 1. Not at all

To what extent do the following apply to the leaders at your unit or place of duty?

The leaders in my unit/ place of duty...	Not at all				
	Slight extent				
	Moderate extent				
	Great extent				
	Very great extent				

- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. show a real interest in the welfare of families. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 17. show a real interest in the welfare of single soldiers. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

18. Describe how well prepared this unit is to perform its wartime duties/mission?
5. Very well prepared
 4. Well prepared
 3. Moderately prepared
 2. Not well prepared
 1. Not at all prepared

19. How would you rate your current level of morale?
5. Very high
 4. High
 3. Moderate
 2. Low
 1. Very low

Sexual harassment is a form of gender discrimination that involves deliberate or repeated unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature (AR 600-20).

20. During the last 12 months, have YOU been sexually harassed by someone in this unit?
1. No
 2. Yes, but it really didn't affect/bother me.
 3. Yes, and it did affect/bother me.

Equal Opportunity refers to the fair, just, and equitable treatment of all soldiers and family members, regardless of race, color, religion, gender (sex), or national origin (AR 600-20).

21. During the last 12 months, have YOU been subjected to discrimination in this unit?
CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.
1. No
 2. Yes, racial
 3. Yes, religious
 4. Yes, gender (sex)
 5. Yes, national origin

22. I would report an incident of sexual harassment or discrimination to my chain of command.
1. No
 2. Yes

23. Are you male or female?
1. Male
 2. Female

24. What is your racial/ethnic background?
1. Black
 2. White
 3. Other (Hispanic, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American, Eskimo or Aleut)

COMMENTS

Please list three things that are going very well in this unit.

1.

2.

3.

Please list three things that most need improvement in this unit.

1.

2.

3.

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY.

Equal Opportunity Climate Research in the United States Navy: Past, Present, Future

Paul Rosenfeld
Navy Personnel Research and Development Center
San Diego, California

Presented at: DEOMI Research Symposium
December 1997

The opinions expressed are those of the author. They are not official and do not represent the views of the Navy Department.

PAST

Navy Research on Equal Opportunity Climate Issues

- 1973 NPRDC document recommends that a “racial barometer” be developed to measure equal opportunity climate

- 1975-1984 Navy-wide HRM survey served as basis of NPRDC organizational development and EO research program

- 1983 NPRDC publishes Navy-wide EO climate assessment based on HRM survey data

- 1989 NPRDC administers first Navy-wide Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey. Readministered in 1991, 1993, 1995

1989 NEOSH Survey Findings

- ◆ Established baseline assessment of EO climate perceptions
 - ◆ White male officers consistently reported the most positive perceptions of Navy EO climate
 - ◆ Blacks, particularly Black enlisted women, were the least positive about EO
 - ◆ Perceptions of fairness in discipline clearly lowest among Blacks
- ◆ Established baseline rate of sexual harassment (SH)
 - ◆ 42% of enlisted women, 26% of female officers reported being sexually harassed during past 12 months
- ◆ **FOLLOW-ON ACTION**
 - ◆ Black Women in the Navy Study Group

◆ 1991 NEOSH Survey Findings

- ◆ As in 1989, all groups had generally positive perceptions of the Navy's EO climate
 - ◆ Men had more positive EO climate perceptions than women; Whites and Hispanics more positive than Blacks
- ◆ Discipline items again produced the greatest racial/ethnic disparities on the NEOSH Survey
- ◆ Little change in percentage of women sexually harassed
 - ◆ Nonsignificant increase for women officer rates
- ◆ **FOLLOW-ON ACTIONS**
 - ◆ Study of equity in Navy discipline sponsored
 - ◆ Development of automated survey tool for command EO climate surveys (called CATSYS) begun

◆ 1993 NEOSH Survey Findings

- ◆ Overall EO climate of Navy respondents remained positive
- ◆ Clear differences between racial/ethnic and gender subgroups

- ◆ Among both officers and enlisted, Black women consistently had the least positive EO perceptions
- ◆ Blacks and Hispanics experienced more racial discrimination than Whites, and women experienced more gender discrimination than men
- ◆ Respondents who experienced racial discrimination or gender discrimination were less satisfied with the Navy, indicated increased intentions to leave, and less intentions to remain until retirement

◆ **1993 NIOSH Survey Findings (continued)**

- ◆ Significant drop in SH rates; may reflect impact of intense post-Tailhook SH training

◆ **FOLLOW-ON ACTION**

- ◆ Black Women in the Navy Focus Group Study

◆ **1995 NIOSH Survey Findings**

- ◆ All groups had positive perceptions of the Navy's EO climate although gaps remained in areas such as Discipline and Discrimination
- ◆ Officer subgroups showed clear positive trends on most EO modules
- ◆ The percentage of Blacks who feel that EO problems can be discussed at their commands increased from 1989 among both officers and enlisted personnel
- ◆ Continued drop in SH rates

◆ **FOLLOW-ON ACTION**

- ◆ Minorities and Women in Naval Aviation Training Study tasked

◆ PRESENT

◆ 1996/1997

Study of minorities and women in naval aviation training conducted

- ◆ Past studies and briefings reviewed
- ◆ NEOSH data analyzed comparing aviation with rest of Navy
- ◆ Interviews and focus groups conducted with students, instructors, staff in aviation training commands
- ◆ Results briefed to Navy leadership

◆ 1997 Fifth administration of NEOSH Survey mailed to 15,000 active-duty personnel in late November

- ◆ Results to be briefed to top Navy policymakers in Spring 1998

◆ FUTURE

◆ Programs/Policies

- ◆ Need to distribute NEOSH survey results Navy-wide and act on findings to implement organization-wide changes
- ◆ Need to emphasize managing diversity rather than equal opportunity/affirmative action
- ◆ Need to become proactive rather than reactive

◆ Research

- ◆ Compare results from NEOSH Survey to those obtained on Navy samples from MEOCS and DMDC surveys
- ◆ Implement CATSYS for Windows throughout Navy
 - ◆ Test functioning in Windows environment
 - ◆ Evaluate success of LAN operations

◆ Adapt existing academic diversity theories to form hypotheses for application to Navy settings

Air Force EO Climate Measurement

Mickey R. Dansby,
Defense Equal Opportunity
Management Institute

Surveys

- Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS)
- MEOCS-LITE Probability Sample
- Unit Climate Assessment (UCA)

Air Force MEOCS

- 494 reports for active duty
- 63 reports for AFRES
- 110 reports for Air National Guard
- N=65k active, 10k RES, 21k NG
- Measures nine EO factors
- Generally positive results

Air Force MEOCS-LITE

- Conducted late 1986
- In conjunction with EO2000 Project
- Stratified random sample of 8,800 military personnel
- Adjusted response rate of 45%

Air Force MEOCS-LITE (cont.)

- Margins of error less than $\pm 4\%$ at 95% confidence
- Measures 11 EO factors
- Generally very positive results

Unit Climate Assessment

- Conducted by local Social Actions offices
- Standard survey with local modification
- Results remain local

Other Methods

- Military Equal Opportunity Assessment
 - Annual report to DoD
 - Covers 10 major EO areas (accessions, promotions, retention, assignments, discipline, etc.)
 - Prior years' data included in report

Thursday, December 4

0830

Invited Speaker

Dr. Jack Edwards
Defense Manpower Data Center

*Opportunities for Assessing Military EO: A Researcher's
Perspective on Identifying an Integrative Program-Evaluation Strategy*⁵¹

Abstract

This presentation examines DoD-wide efforts to assess EO programs. Discussion includes information on evaluation efforts that are designed to monitor both racial/ethnic and gender-based harassment and discrimination. Those programs include the *Sexual Harassment Survey*, the *Equal Opportunity Survey*, and the *Military Equal Opportunity Assessment*. In addition to providing an overview of these research efforts, the presentation identifies other assessment methods that could supplement current information and furnish a fuller evaluation of military EO programs.

Objectives of this Paper

This paper identifies a rationale for why Department of Defense (DoD) equal opportunity (EO) practices should be evaluated. Then, it provides an overview of major EO-evaluation efforts currently underway in DoD. Third, considerations are identified for designing supplemental program-evaluation plans. Inventories of both what is available today and what awaits tomorrow provide a firm foundation for beginning to identify an integrative strategy for evaluating EO practices.

Rationale for Evaluating EO Practices

With a smaller military force and a decreasing DoD budget, it is imperative that human and fiscal resources be used judiciously. EO is a human resources program intimately tied to readiness. With racial/ethnic minorities and women accounting for larger and larger portions of the military, the military must be seen as an organization that actively seeks to provide EO to all members. Anything less could affect the ability to attract high quality recruits and retain previously trained members. These issues illustrate that EO is more than just “the right thing to do”; it is also something that affects the bottom line—mission readiness.

⁵¹ The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official positions of the DoD.

The military's emphasis on EO comes at a price. Currently, the military spends millions of dollars per year on EO practices such as complaints investigations and training to combat sexual harassment. These costs are both direct (e.g., producing and mailing surveys) and indirect (e.g., time away from the workplace to attend training). Little is known, however, about the effectiveness of individual EO practices. It might be questioned whether or not the same effect could be obtained for a decreased cost using different methods of information dissemination, complaint resolution, etc.

Like everything else, military EO practices should be evaluated to identify areas of excellence and opportunities for improvement. Initiatives such as Vice President Gore's reinventing government combined with budgetary and force-size considerations suggest now is the time to search for increased efficiencies. For example, one method of obtaining increased efficiencies is to emphasize "jointness." Rather than each Service undertaking independent programmatic and evaluation efforts, cross-Service programs and assessment tools could have multiple benefits. Sharing the cost of, say, developing a DoD-wide complaints-monitoring system could result in a system with (a) a lowered per-Service cost and (b) enhanced capabilities beyond those which could be afforded by any single Service.

For fiscal and practical reasons, our quest now turns to the second objective of this paper: an inventory of current EO assessment efforts. Taking stock of the available information will lead logically to the third objective of this paper—identifying methodological and practical challenges to supplementing current EO-assessment efforts. By building on strengths and identifying challenges, DoD will be provided a firm base for designing an improved and integrative system of EO practices and program evaluation.

EO Assessment: The Current State of Affairs

Many military EO programs and policies have been implemented in response to high-level (e.g., Presidential, Congressional, or Secretary of Defense) initiatives or as a result of crises (e.g., riots on aircraft carriers in the 1970s, Tailhook, or Aberdeen). In the past, the haste to implement a new EO requirement rarely allowed sufficient time to plan a systematic program to evaluate and refine the existing and supplement EO practices. When EO evaluation is done, it is frequently a one-time effort (e.g., see U.S. General Accounting Office, 1995, for an annotated review of military EO studies).

DoD and the Services have taken some steps to monitor EO programs. These efforts have primarily emphasized administering surveys and examining databases for race/ethnicity- and gender-related differences. Less systematic evaluations include the cursory evaluations of EO training. Figure 1 shows examples of databases that can be used to evaluate the EO programs. For each source of data, "X" indicates those content areas that could be investigated. The remainder of this section provides an overview of these various monitoring and evaluation efforts.

Figure 1
Source of Data to Measure Selected EO Concerns

EO Concern	Current Sources of Information						
	Personnel Surveys		Aggregate from Services		Paper Copy	Electronic Files	
	Sexual Harassment Survey	Equal Opportunity Survey	Military Equal Opportunity Assessment (MEOA)	Archival Records of Complaints	Personnel Folders (at units or from nat'l archives))	Officer and Enlisted Master Files	Pay Files
Selection into Military			X			X	
Placement/ MOS			X		X	X	
Performance Evaluation	X	X			X		
Assignments	X	X			X	X	
Promotions	X	X	X		X	X	X
Discipline		X	X	X	X	X	X
EO Climate	X	X					
EO Training	X	X					
EO Complaints	X	X		X			

Surveys

DoD and some of the Services have strong EO-survey programs. These surveys currently provide most of the data used to evaluate military EO programs and EO climate. Descriptions of those programs follow. Although some of the Service efforts were begun before the DoD-wide surveys, the DoD-wide surveys are reviewed first because they span all Services and are required by law.

DoD-wide sexual harassment survey. Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) conducted the first joint-Service, active-duty sexual harassment survey in 1988. In 1994, DMDC was tasked to update that survey and re-administer it. Updating the survey accomplished two important objectives: addressing current policy concerns and incorporating recent advances in the understanding and measurement of sexual harassment. In order to provide an updated survey while maintaining comparability with the 1988 results, DMDC developed three sexual harassment instruments.

- Form A was a re-administration of the 1988 survey for fairly unambiguous comparisons of 1988 and 1995 incident rates.
- Form B was a new questionnaire that built on the content of the 1988 survey, included current policy issues, and incorporated the previously cited methodological advances.

- Form C was a research form that linked the list of sexual harassment behaviors in the 1988 survey (Form A) to the behavior list in the new survey (Form B).

Service EO and survey offices contributed to the development of the new instrument. The surveys were also field tested with multiple groups from each Service.

The 1995 *Sexual Harassment Survey* was mailed to a worldwide, representative sample of active-duty personnel from the four DoD Services and the Coast Guard. Sample sizes were 30,239 members receiving Form A; 49,752 members receiving Form B; and 9,695 members receiving Form C. The sample was stratified by Service, gender, racial/ethnic group membership, pay grade, occupation, and location inside or outside the U.S. Oversampling of women was used to ensure adequate cell sizes for the analyses. Unweighted response rates were 46% for Form A, 58% for Form B, and 56% for Form C.

Among other things, the results from Form A showed that the percentage of women experiencing at least one incident of sexual harassment decreased from 64% in 1988 to 55% in 1995 (see Bastian, Lancaster, & Reyst, 1996, for findings from Forms A and B). Form B, which contained the longer behavior list, showed that 78% of the women reported experiencing at least one incident of offensive behavior during the prior year. Form B also contained an item that asked respondents if they considered any of the behaviors they checked to be sexual harassment. About one third of the 78% indicated “none” of what they checked was sexual harassment. Thus, 52% of active-duty women reported experiencing at least one behavior that they considered sexually harassing. For active-duty men, that rate was 9%.

Data files were provided to all Services in July 1996. A report of the findings and a technical report were published in December 1996. DMDC provides researchers with a CD-ROM containing public-use data files and final technical documentation.

DoD-wide racial/ethnic harassment and discrimination survey. Congressional staff inserted language in the *National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995* (House of Representatives Conference Report, page 114) requiring this survey. Two years later, legislation (Title 10, USC—Armed Forces, Chapter 23, Section 481) stated that the Secretary of Defense “Shall carry out an annual survey to measure the state of racial, ethnic and gender issues and discrimination...and...hate group activity.”

In response to the Congressional mandates, DMDC administered the 16-page *1996 Equal Opportunity Survey (EOS)*; Edwards, Elig, & Riemer, in process). The survey’s EO items can be grouped broadly into five categories: types, frequency, and effects of racial/ethnic incidents; characteristics of the complaints process; opinions about personnel policies and programs; interpersonal relations of service members from different racial/ethnic groups; and comparisons of EO in the military now to EO in the military 5 years ago and to the civilian sector. In addition to addressing EO-related issues, the survey included questions about identification with and commitment to the organization, career issues, characteristics of the workplace, job satisfaction, and demographics.

The *EOS* was sent to 73,496 active-duty DoD and Coast Guard members from late 1996 through Spring 1997. The sampling design considered requirements for analyses by Service, sex, racial/ethnic group membership (Hispanic, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic White, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American/Alaskan Native), paygrade, location (U.S., Europe, Asia/Pacific Islands) and density in duty occupations of Blacks, Hispanics, and total minorities. The design oversampled minority group members to ensure adequate sample sizes for comparisons among racial/ethnic subgroups.

EOS findings will be briefed to the Services in early 1998. Also, the Services will be provided databases for their own data analyses. After the Services have had time to perform their own analyses, databases will be provided to academic, private-sector, and public-sector researchers.

Other EO surveys. Some Services have also administered their own surveys to obtain EO information. The Navy has administered its biennial *Navy Equal Employment and Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey* to active-duty personnel since 1989 and to Reservists since 1993. Similarly, the Marine Corps has fielded its biennial *Marine Corps Equal Opportunity Survey (MCEOS)* to active-duty personnel since 1994 and to Reservists since 1996. All four of these survey efforts utilize samples representative of the entire Service or Reserve component.

Although the Army and Air Force do not have surveys addressing only EO concerns, they have obtained survey information on these topics. The Army has included items intermittently on its omnibus *Sample Survey of Military Personnel*, with sexual harassment items appearing about every two years. The Air Force does not routinely administer its own survey to assess EO; it has adopted the DoD-wide surveys.

Although the DoD-wide and Service-wide surveys provide extremely valuable information to policy officials for DoD-wide and Service-wide issues, those surveys are not designed to provide information to the local command. To address this problem, some Services have developed command-level assessment programs. The Navy and the Marine Corps have computer-assisted assessments. Both use items from their Service-specific surveys. The assessment aids provide items, norms from the most recent Service-specific survey, and software for analyzing and graphing results (e.g., see Rosenfeld & Edwards, 1994).

Last, but certainly not least, is the *Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS)*. The Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI), which is hosting this conference, has had an active *MEOCS* program for the past decade (see Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993, for an overview). Portions of all the Services have used the *MEOCS* to assess command-level EO. In fact, several hundred thousand service members have completed the *MEOCS*. DEOMI provides the instruments, and personnel at the local command administer them. DEOMI computerizes the data from the completed surveys and provides a report of findings to the command. When commanding officers obtain results, they can compare the findings from their units to those obtained from prior *MEOCS* respondents. The *MEOCS* has different items than the Services' items or the items found in the DoD-wide surveys.

Complaints Processing

Other than surveys, the only large-scale evaluation of an EO issue has been the investigation of complaints. The largest of these efforts was the Defense Equal Opportunity Council (DEOC) Task Force's investigation of the discrimination-complaints process. The Task Force was co-chaired by the Secretary of the Air Force and the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness. Following extensive data gathering and analysis, the DEOC Task Force issued its two-volume *Report of the Task Force on Discrimination and Sexual Harassment* (Defense Equal Opportunity Council Task Force, 1995). In its report, the Task Force outlined goals and principles for an effective complaints processing system. In addition, the report listed 48 recommendations for improving the Services' discrimination-complaints processing as well as EO programs in general.

At this time, DoD-wide information on complaints processing is very limited. The information consists of only the number of complaints handled per year. While this type of data can be used to monitor an overall trend, important evaluative information is being lost by the inability to capture more complaint data.

Although some Services have begun computerizing information pertaining to each complaint, development of these Service-specific tracking systems has proceeded independently. Recently, the Services began discussing the development of a system for consolidating complaints information. DMDC has met with the Services and the Reserve components to identify commonalties among the systems. Developing a single system would provide less ambiguous answers about complaint rates and the nature of the complaints. Still, attention must be given to the special requirements of each Service to ensure that such a joint system could be optimally useful for all parties.

Other Types of Data Useful in EO-Program Evaluation

Other EO evaluations use data from a variety of sources. Two common methods for obtaining such data are by mining electronic or paper personnel files and aggregating data that is supplied to successively higher level commands. Examples are provided to illustrate these other methods of obtaining EO-evaluation data.

Military Equal Opportunity Assessment (MEOA). DoD annually publishes the *MEOA*. The *MEOAs* are compendia of statistics on topics such as promotion rates, discipline rates, and discrimination and harassment complaints. These findings are compiled by examining electronic databases (e.g., to determine promotion rates) and "rolling" up statistics to successively higher level commands (e.g., to determine discipline rates). Each type of statistic is examined for differences that are related to members' race/ethnicity and gender.

Since each Service supplies DoD with the data from the *MEOAs*, it is possible to example rates at both the DoD-wide and Service-specific levels. The high level of aggregation contained in the *MEOAs* makes the statistics useful for little more than trend analysis at the DoD-wide or Service-wide level.

Miscellaneous other issues. In addition to using electronic files to derive rates such as those appearing in the *MEOA*, the electronic files can be used for other purposes. For example, pay files can be examined for decreases in pay from one month to another. This information has been used at times for the study of military discipline/punishment (e.g., see Edwards, 1997, for a review of sources for Navy discipline data). Since the pay files were not designed for this specific purpose, the types of conclusions which can be drawn are limited and tentative.

Paper personnel records are another source of data for racial/ethnic data. While some of this information is available on personnel while they are still in the military, other types of data (e.g., reason for court martial) cannot be examined for EO-related concerns until after the personnel folders have been retired at the national archives.

Training Evaluations

EO training is probably the EO practice requiring the most time and fiscal resources. In a given year, almost every military member will attend at least 1-hour of EO training (e.g., on cross-cultural awareness or the avoidance of sexual harassment). In addition to regularly mandated training, crises can result in additional training. Such training is often the preferred method for correcting EO problems detected by a survey, a special study group, or another means of evaluation.

Despite being the EO practice requiring the largest amount of human and fiscal resources, EO training is rarely evaluated. When training is “evaluated,” the evaluation typically looks much like a short “customer satisfaction” survey and is completed at the end of the training session. A Navy example illustrates the quality of the training evaluations. As a result of sexual harassment at the Tailhook convention, the Secretary of the Navy ordered eight hours of mandatory training for all military and civilian personnel in the Department of the Navy. Following the training, all attendees had to complete a short survey that asked if they had attended the training and if they now knew what sexual harassment was.

Because of limited resources, little effort is usually made to determine if behavior or attitudes are actually changed following the training. More must be done to look at the short-, intermediate-, and long-term effects of EO training.

Identifying Challenges to Supplementing Current EO Evaluation Efforts

Evaluating EO—or any other human resource program—presents methodological and practical challenges. This fact is particularly pertinent to military EO evaluations. Such challenges need to be identified now so that supplemental evaluation tools can be designed to overcome those hurdles. Although no single method will be able to overcome all of these challenges, early identification of hurdles along with rigorous planning can result in a variety of tools that complement one another and decrease the problems caused by any single constraint.

The prior section showed that military EO-evaluation efforts have used a piecemeal approach which has resulted in uneven coverage of the wide range of concerns related to military EO. While some concerns (e.g., military members' perceptions of EO climate) are covered in much depth and evaluated with multiple assessment methods, other issues (e.g., training effectiveness) have little data against which quality can be judged.

Much of the remainder of this paper is devoted to identifying major challenges to designing a comprehensive EO program-evaluation system. Major issues to be included in this section are the lack of norms for judging effectiveness, measuring the race/ethnicity of members, operationally defining harassment and discrimination, and practical concerns to designing an EO evaluation program.

Lack of Norms for Judging Effectiveness

A major impediment to evaluating military EO programs is the lack of a standard against which to compare Service findings. When DoD and the Services gather EO data, there is no non-military group against which military findings can be validly compared. Because of legal considerations, private-sector organizations seldom gather EO data on surveys, much less release that information outside their organizations. Even if survey or complaint information were gathered and released by non-military organizations, it would have little relevance to the military because the "opportunities" for harassment and discrimination are greatly expanded in the military.

Private- and public-sector findings (e.g., U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1995) are computed for civilians who typically spend an 8-hour day in the *workplace*. Since military people often *work and live* on a military installation and use non-work facilities on the installations, harassment or discrimination in the workplace could potentially occur 24 (versus 8) hours per day. Similarly, findings for the active-duty Services may not be a good comparison for Reserve findings. Reservists have a decreased chance to be harassed or discriminated against (relative to that for active duty). Reservists' survey answers would pertain primarily to what occurred one weekend per month and during the two weeks of Annual Training per year.

Measuring Race/Ethnicity

Two race/ethnicity-related issues must be addressed before designing supplemental EO-assessment tools. The issues pertain to (a) how to handle a member who has a mixed racial/ethnic background and (b) a potential artifact in determining the racial/ethnic composition of the military's total force.

Multi-race military members. Prerequisite to evaluating an EO program is knowing the racial/ethnic background of members. Until recently, most organizations gathered racial/ethnic information by asking respondents to self-report their ethnicity and race using *separate questions*. The ethnicity question asked if a person was (or was not) Hispanic. The race question typically asked the person to select from *one* of four categories: American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black/African American, and White.

A month ago, the Office of Management and Budget (1997) issued “Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity.” The question assessing ethnicity now asks respondents if they are “Hispanic or Latino,” and the race question has five categories: American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Black/African American, Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander, and White. Thus, “Latino” has been added to the ethnicity question. For the race question, two changes were made in categories: Native Hawaiians are explicitly mentioned, and they and other Pacific Islanders have been provided a separate category from Asians. While neither of these category modifications should make much of a difference when monitoring race/ethnicity, another change will make a significant difference. Respondents are now permitted to “Mark one or more...” or “Select one or more...” races.

If this new method of measuring race/ethnicity is applied to DoD, it leads to numerous concerns, some of which are faced by other organizations. One particularly thorny question is how to treat the data from an individual who indicates numerous races. Should the person be classified as multiracial, randomly assigned to one of the selected categories, or have a proportional part of the person assigned to each category? Any one of those alternatives would be a change from the prior racial/ethnic classification scheme. Therefore, norms and trend data (e.g., from surveys or *MEOAs*) could become of limited use.

Under representation versus under counting. The military strives to obtain a force that mirrors the composition of the U.S. population. To judge its progress toward this goal, DoD and the Services compare their racial/ethnic compositions to those for similarly aged members of the U.S. population. To be an appropriate comparison, DoD should be using the same methods to gather racial/ethnic data as the methods employed by the Census Bureau (i.e., the questions and self-identification established by the Office of Management and Budget).

DoD race/ethnicity data in administrative records are primarily based on *others'* (usually recruiters') *observations* and are *not* collected using questions that map directly to those used to generate census statistics. Self-reports from DoD surveys and others' observations obtained from DoD databases are fairly consistent for some subgroups (most notably Blacks); however, agreement is less consistent for other subgroups (most notably Hispanics). For example, according to administrative records, Hispanics are less than 4% of DoD service members. Findings based on survey self-reports are at least twice that amount and closely parallel U.S. population estimates obtained using questions that are almost identical to those used on the 1990 U.S. Census.

Although it would be expensive to obtain new racial/ethnic data on millions of DoD personnel (active-duty members, Reservists, and DoD civilian employees), DoD cannot judge how well it maps to the U.S. population without such an effort. Until then, it is impossible to determine how much differences are due to under counting versus under representation of some subgroups.

Operationally Defining Harassment and Discrimination

A first step to identifying the degree to which a problem exists is to agree how the problem is to be defined operationally. The DoD-wide and Service-specific surveys operationally define sexual harassment differently. For example, the *1995 Armed Forces Sexual Harassment Survey* (e.g., see J. E. Edwards, Elig, D. L. Edwards, & Riemer, 1997) used 24 behaviors and considered incidents committed on duty or off by military personnel or civilian employees. In contrast, the Navy and Marine Corps surveys use 10 categories of behaviors and consider a more limited context. These variations in item wording, content, and context have at times resulted in confusion about which numbers most accurately reflect sexual harassment in the military.

This same problem does not exist with regard to the operational definition of racial/ethnic harassment and discrimination. The *EOS* is the first military survey to define racial/ethnic harassment and discrimination.

Practical Concerns When Designing an Evaluation Program

While the prior sections have identified methodological challenges, practical concerns must also be considered before the design of an evaluation program begins. The design team must be especially cognizant of five practical concerns that will challenge researchers when they to design EO-evaluation strategies.

- **Type of information needed.** The desired information should direct the choice of the data-gathering method, and not vice versa. No single method (e.g., surveys) can effectively provide a full picture of how well DoD and the Services are doing with regard to all EO issues.
- **Interrelatedness of EO content areas.** Assessments done for one content area will almost surely have implications for other core content areas. For example, information obtained in a content analysis of the sexual harassment complaints could provide valuable lessons learned. That information could be used to amend policy, examined for ways to improve communication, incorporated into training programs, or written into items for a survey.
- **Time between assessments.** Assessment is not a one-time process; instead, it is a continuing effort. The frequency of the assessment is determined by the content and the strategy. If the time between assessments is too short, there will not be sufficient opportunity to complete the process of refining programs, communicating the changes to members, and providing ample time for members to consolidate the changes into their behaviors and attitudes.
- **Balancing costs versus value of the evaluation.** The financial and human resource costs of some assessment strategies is high relative to such costs for other strategies. Time and fiscal constraints might make it impossible to implement some methods that show particular promise in such program evaluations.
- **Sensitivity to organizational and personal concerns.** Some of the assessments are more disruptive or invasive than others. For example, interviewing complainants is more

invasive than reviewing court cases. Also, conducting in-depth analysis in a single unit is very disruptive to the mission of the unit.

- **Characteristics of evaluators.** Some assessment strategies should be used by only selected groups of evaluators. For example, the review of court decisions may be most meaningful when done by lawyers. Similarly, an audit of training materials by non-DoD personnel would probably provide a more objective review than would an audit by the people who are involved in the training.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper started with the basic assumption—EO is a human-resource program that affects readiness. From this point, the basis for three objectives were developed.

1. Limits to fiscal and human resources suggest a need to fine tune all programs so that they work at optimal efficiency and effectiveness.
2. Currently, the piecemeal development of EO program-evaluation tools has resulted in very uneven coverage of EO topics (e.g., attitudes, training effectiveness).
3. Numerous methodological and practical considerations should be addressed before planning is needed to design supplemental assessment tools that overcome the obstacles to obtaining a clear evaluation of military EO programs.

References

- Bastian, L. D., Lancaster, A. R., & Reyst, H. E. (1996, December). *Department of Defense 1995 sexual harassment survey* (DMDC Report No. 96-014). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Defense Equal Opportunity Council Task Force. (1995). *Report of the Task Force on Discrimination and Sexual Harassment*. Washington, DC: Department of Defense.
- Edwards, J. E. (1977, August). Equity of the Navy discipline system: A review of race-based findings. In P. J. Thomas (Chair), *Understanding disparities in the perception of minority and majority personnel*. Symposium presented at the 105th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.
- Edwards, J. E., Elig, T. W., Edwards, D. L., & Riemer, R. A. (1997). *The 1995 armed forces sexual harassment survey: Administration, datasets, and codebook for form B* (DMDC Report No. 95-015). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Edwards, J. E., Elig, T. W., & Riemer, R. A. (in process). *The 1996 armed forces equal opportunity survey: Administration, datasets, and codebook* (Report No. 97-026). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M. R., Faley, R. H. (1993). The military equal opportunity climate survey: An example of surveying in organizations. In P. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, & M. D. Thomas

(Eds.), *Improving organizational surveys: New Directions, methods, and applications* (pp. 212-239). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Office of Management and Budget. (1997). *Revisions of the standards for the classification of federal data on race and ethnicity*. Washington, DC: Author. (available at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/OMB/html/fedreg/Ombdir15.html>)

Rosenfeld, P., & Edwards, J. E. (1994). Automated system assesses equal opportunity. *Personnel Journal*, 73(9), 98-103.

U.S. General Accounting Office. (1995, April). *Equal opportunity: DOD studies on discrimination in the military* (GAO/NSIAD-95-103). Washington DC: GAO.

U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1995). *Sexual harassment in the federal workplace: Trends, progress, continuing challenges*. Washington, DC: Author.

0945

Invited Speaker

Dr. Naomi Verdugo
Department of the Army

***A Review of Army Human Resource Issues*⁵²**

Abstract

FY97 has been an eventful year for Army Human Resources. The speaker reviews some of the issues, from sexual harassment to race relations, to leadership. She also discusses some of the changes the Army is making to improve identified weaknesses, become more proactive, and emphasize command climate.

(NOTE: For a summary of the issues discussed by Dr. Verdugo, please see her slide presentation in Panel Session 1, presented at 1600 on December 3.)

1100

Panel Session 2

***Research Issues in Civilian Equal Employment Opportunity Programs*⁵³**

Moderator: Ronald D. Shanks
Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)

Abstract

Defense Management Review Decision (DMRD) 974 (1992) consolidated training in Civilian Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Programs at DEOMI. Training classes began in 1994. Since that time, more than 800 students in 15 resident courses and 1500 students in nonresident courses have graduated. Despite this, the Civilian EEO Community has not taken sufficient advantage of the Institute's Directorate of Research to investigate critical issues impacting the management of EEO throughout DoD. The purpose of this panel was for service and agency representatives to identify and prioritize issues to submit to the Directorate of Research. Panel

⁵² The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

⁵³ The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official positions of the DoD.

members were drawn from EEO Officials attending the symposium. The audience participated in working groups to identify, define, and prioritize EEO research issues.

(NOTE: The following slides, summary of discussion results, and resource web sites were provided by Dr. Shanks as a summary of the panel.)

Research Issues in DoD Civilian EEO Programs

ron-shanks@pafb.af.mil

DoD CIVILIAN WORKFORCE

Representation by Percentage

	DoD	NCLF
White Men	49.7	42.6
White Women	25.5	35.3
Minority Men	14.7	11.6
Minority Women	11.9	10.4

DoD CIVILIAN WORKFORCE

By Grade Level (Percentages)

	G1-10	G11-12	G13-15	SES
WM	24.3	55.5	72.4	83.9
WW	42.6	24.7	15.6	9.9
MM	10.0	11.9	8.6	4.2
MW	23.1	7.9	3.4	2.0

EO/EEO PROGRAM COMPARISON

EO

- **All Aspects of Military Life**
- **Based on DoD Instructions**
- **Variety of “Appellate Systems”**
- **Prohibits Race, Color, Religion, National Origin, Sex Discrimination**

EEO

- **Employment & Employment Related Issues**
- **Based on Statutes**
- **“Appellate System” Leads to Court**
- **Same Bases Plus Age and Disability**

DoD Civilian Employment--an Era of Transition

Civil Service Act of 1948

Civil Service Reform Act of 1978

Significant Demographic Changes

DoD Demonstration Projects, 1980-92

DoD Downsizing

National Performance Review

National Defense Panel, 1997

DMRD 974 (OCT 92) ESTABLISHED DEOMI AS:

Center of Excellence in EEO

Central Tng Source

Resident

Nonresident

Information Center

DEOMI CURRICULUM STRENGTH

- **Interpersonal**
- **Intrapersonal**
- **Organizational**
- **Staff Advisor Role**

DEOMI EEO CIVILIAN TRAINING RESIDENT COURSES (10 DAYS)

- **EEO Counselors**
- **EEO Specialists**
- **EEO Officers**

DEOMI EEO CIVILIAN TRAINING NON-RESIDENT COURSES

- **Intro to EEO Counseling (5 days)**
- **SEPMs/Diversity (5 days)**
- **Mediation (5 days)**
- **Senior Leaders--EEO Focus
(1-2 days)**

DEOMI RESEARCH

Strong Military EO Research Role

Limited Civilian EEO Research Role

EEO RESEARCH ASSETS

Government-Wide Research

OMB

DoL

**OPM
MSPB
OSC**

MSPB STUDY--WORKING IN AMERICA--I

- **U.S. Civil Service is Generally Fair But Requires Improvement:**
- **20% of Feds Believe They Are Victims of Discrimination or Prohibited Personnel Practices.**
- **There is Great Disagreement About the Impact of Affirmative Action**

MSPB STUDY--WORKING IN AMERICA--II

- **U.S. Civil Service is Generally Fair But Requires Improvement:**
- **55% of Supervisors Have Had to Deal With Employee Problems.**
- **Members of the SES Are By Far the Most Satisfied Group.**

MSPB STUDY--MINORITIES IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE--I

- **Fed Govt Has Reduced the Indices of Obvious Bias. However:**
- **There Are Measurable Differences in Career Opportunities for Minorities/Non-Minorities.**
- **Differences Not Fully Attributable to Merit.**

**MSPB STUDY--MINORITIES IN THE FEDERAL SERVICE--
II**

- **Continued Effort Required to Reduce Bias/Stereotyping.**
- **Biases Create Unfair Disadvantages/ Perceptions of Discrimination.**

EEO RESEARCH PROBLEMS

Biases/Perception Negatively Impact Productivity & Teamwork.

Are There Advantages to Dealing Exclusively with Military?

Is DoD Employment Different From Other Federal Employment?

Numerous Data Sources

Variety of Career Experiences

PURPOSE:

Identify Broad, Fundamental Issues

Prioritize Issues

Identify Sources of Funding/Support

POTENTIAL RESEARCH AREAS:

- **Compare/Contrast Civilians with Uniformed DoD Professionals**
- **Compare/Contrast DoD Civilians with Other Feds**
- **Critical Experiences of SES's**
- **Experiences of Interns**
- **Best Occupations**
- **Worst Occupations**

Additional Questions and Discussion

Research Issues in DoD Civilian EEO Programs

ron-shanks@pafb.af.mil

The discussion began with a series of observations concerning the DoD Civilian Workforce, intended to compare and contrast the military and civilian components of the force, and, identify potential areas for research.

The DoD Executive Branch Civilian Workforce consists of approximately 800,000 persons appointed under authority of U.S. Office of Personnel Management and Service and Agency rules and regulations. (Not included in this total is another very large workforce employed by Defense contractors.) From a macro perspective, it approximates the proportions of women and minorities in the national civilian labor force. Despite this, women and minorities are severely underrepresented in the highest graded positions. (See references 2 and 9.) The Civilian EEO program closely parallels the Military EO program. Like the Military EO program, it prohibits discrimination on the bases of race, color, national origin, religion and sex, and in addition includes prohibitions against age and disability discrimination. Like the Military EO program, it contains requirements for affirmative action to overcome the effects of past discrimination and provides appellate procedures for persons who believe that they have been victimized by discrimination. However, it is based on statute (the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, references 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11 and 12), affording aggrieved persons the opportunity to address complaints of discrimination to non-DoD regulatory agencies and the courts. (In this regard, it is similar to the Military EO programs in Canada and the United Kingdom.)

The Civil Service Act of 1948 assigned significant authorities for the management of DoD Civilian Employees to the Services and Agencies. The result was the development of extensive internal civilian personnel regulations and the emergence of a cadre of civilian personnel management specialists. Since that time, civilian employment has been subject to a number of impressive changes, some of which parallel changes impacting military personnel. Both the military and civilian components of the force experienced significant growth throughout the Cold War era. Both were impacted by insufficient resources during the Vietnam War. Both were subject to significant organizational restructuring and reductions following Vietnam. Both experienced significant demographic changes: particularly dramatic increases in the numbers of women throughout all occupational categories and grades, as well as equally significant increases in minorities throughout the mid- and senior grade levels. (The extensive underrepresentation of women and minorities in the highest grade levels is a good indication of what remains to be done to realize equality of opportunity throughout.) Finally, both have been subject to severe reductions following Desert Storm. Throughout this period, there was a significant transfer of work such as research and development, acquisition, logistics, and financial management away from military and to civilian personnel. In addition, the regulatory structure for DoD Civilians has been under significant revision since the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978. A series of “demonstration projects” were initiated at DoD laboratories; the National Performance Review

and the Defense Reform Initiative have produced and proposed numerous changes in the conditions of employment. (See references 5, 6 and 10.)

Federal Executive Branch employment has been the subject of significant research by agencies such as the Office of Management and Budget, the Department of Labor, the Office of Personnel Management, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) and the Office of Special Counsel. (A listing of Internet web sites maintained by these agencies is provided for additional inquiry.) There has been very little research specifically focusing on the DoD Civilian Workforce. The research on government employment presents some interesting similarities to results of research such as the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS). Recent extensive studies by the MSPB indicate that there are measurable differences between the employment situations of women and men, minorities and nonminorities, which are not attributable to the workings of individual merit and fitness. Additional MSPB research indicates that Federal employees believe that U.S. civil service employment is generally fair but requires improvement in many areas, that employees disagree significantly about the impact of affirmative action on Federal employment, and that employees in the highest grades have the most favorable impression on the fairness of the employment system and vice versa. These studies conclude that discrimination and perceptions of unfairness negatively impact productivity and teamwork. (References 2 and 9).

During the open discussion, symposia participants identified a number of research issues concerning the DoD Civilian EEO Programs:

--Are DoD Civilians different in performance and outlook from other Executive Branch employees?

--Have the significant EO initiatives, particularly in the area of training, which many DoD Civilians have participated in, had a significant impact on the Civilian EEO program?

--What have been the career experiences of DoD civilians who have reached the highest grade-levels? Have there been significant differences for women and minorities? How do these experiences compare and contrast with those of less successful civilians?

--What were the career experiences of DoD civilians who completed cooperative education and career intern programs within Services and Agencies?

--Do top leaders believe that a successful EEO program in DoD significantly contributes to mission accomplishment and readiness?

--Can a propensity measure, such as the propensity to enlist study for military personnel, be developed for civilians?

References

- (1) Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (29 USC 621).
- (2) A Question of Equality: Women and the Glass Ceiling in the Federal Government, (Washington, DC: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board [MSPB], October 1992).
- (3) Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 USC 2000e).
- (4) Civil Rights Act of 1991 (42 USC 1981).
- (5) Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (5 USC 2301).
- (6) Defense Reform Initiative: The Business Strategy for Defense in the 21st Century (Washington, DC: Office of the Secretary of Defense, November 1997).
- (7) EEO Act of 1972 (42 USC 2000e).
- (8) Equal Pay Act of 1963 (29 USC 206d).
- (9) Fair & Equitable Treatment: A Progress Report on Minority Employment in the Federal Government (Washington, DC: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board [MSPB], August 1996).
- (10) National Performance Review Accompanying Report, Transforming Organizational Structures (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1993).
- (11) Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 USC 633a).
- (12) Reorganization Plan 1 of 1978 (3 CFR 321).

Web Sites Related to this Panel Discussion:

White House:

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/WHWELCOME.html>

Federal Agencies:

<http://www.lib.lsu.edu/gov.fedgov.html>

EEOC:

<http://www.eeoc.gov>

Merit Systems Protection Board:

<http://www.gpo.gov/mspb/index.html>

Census:

<http://www.census.gov/polulation/projections/nation/hsrh/nprg9600.txt>

Government Printing Office:

<http://www.gpo.gov>

Defense Link:

<http://defenselink.mil>

DoD Civ Pers Mgt Svc:

<http://www.cpms.osd.mil>

Air Force Personnel:

<http://www.dp.hq.af.mil/DP>

Army Civilian Personnel:

http://image.redstone.army.mil/html/permis/p_index.html

DEOMI

<http://www.pafb.af.mil/deomi/deomi.htm>

Library of Congress:

<http://thomas.loc.gov>

1330

Paper Session D

Sexual Harassment

Capturing Headlines:

Newspaper Coverage of Sexual Harassment in the Military⁵⁴

G. E. Murray

Grambling State University

Abstract

This research project examines newspaper coverage of sexual harassment in the military during 1996-97. After opening with an overview of the sexual harassment situation in the military, this paper examines

⁵⁴ The opinions expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official views of the DOD or any of its agencies.

coverage of recent key sexual harassment incidents by seven daily newspapers and three military-oriented weekly newspapers.

During 1996-97, some of the biggest public battles fought by the United States military involved the war against sexual harassment. Reports of the war appeared frequently in the headlines. In July, 1996, the news was upbeat, as results of a Department of Defense 1995 worldwide survey were announced indicating, "Harassment statistics looking better, but are far from perfect," according to the *Army Times* (Compart, 1996a, 10). However, within the next few months, such cases as those involving drill instructors and trainees at Fort Leonard Wood, MO, and Aberdeen Proving Grounds, MD, became hot news topics. In early 1997, Sergeant Major of the Army (SMA) Gene McKinney was accused of sexual harassment and suspended from his duties as the top enlisted advisor to the Army Chief of Staff.

Historical Background

For several years, sexual harassment has been recognized as a serious problem in both civilian and military organizations. As more women joined the workforce, sexual harassment became more evident. One measure giving some protection was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which outlaws discrimination in employment on the basis of an individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Goldman, 2). Title VII of the act defined sexual harassment as a legal concept (Harris & Firestone, 51). The first sexual-harassment court case, *Corne v. Bausch & Lomb*, raised the question of the legality of a supervisor's unwanted sexual advances toward his subordinates. The plaintiffs, who claimed they quit their jobs because of their supervisor's repeated verbal and physical advances, lost (Goldman, 2).

In November, 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued *Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex* outlining the two types of prohibited sexual harassment: (1) *quid pro quo* or "something for something" harassment, when unwelcome sexual advances are made and an employee is required to submit either to get or keep employment or when employment decisions or benefits for the individual could be affected and (2) *hostile environment*, where unwelcome sexual conduct or comments have the purpose or effect of interfering with an employee's work effort by creating an intimidating, abusive, or insulting work environment (Harris & Firestone, 51). EEOC guidelines defining sexual harassment issued in 1980:

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating hostile, or offensive working environment (Harris & Firestone, 51).

Department of Defense (DoD) Directive 1350.2 defining sexual harassment closely parallels the EEOC guidelines (Dansby, 19). The directive and guidelines are included in instruction at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI).

In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court heard its first sexual harassment case in *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*. The court ruled that a sexually hostile work environment is illegal even if it does not cause economic harm to the victim. Besides guaranteeing everyone a right to a harassment-free environment, the decision recognized that hostile environments are unlawful under Title VII. “Unwelcome” actions by the harasser became a key part of the offense. The court rejected the idea that companies are to be held strictly liable for acts of “hostile environment” harassment. An act of harassment that occurs completely outside of work is unlikely to result in liability for the employer, according to the decision.

After examining 163 sexual harassment complaints filed in the Air Force during fiscal year 1987, Popovich found most victims were white, female, enlisted personnel, and most cases consisted of multiple incidents of sexual harassment in which the offender acted alone. She called for establishment of effective training programs to deal with the problem (Popovich, 30, 31).

Calling sexual harassment “a complex problem in the military and any other setting,” Pryor in 1988 wrote that “a first step in reducing sexual harassment in the military is to identify some of the organizational and personal factors that are related to its occurrence.” He recommended a DoD survey. Its findings would be used to develop organizational policies and training programs aimed at reducing sexual harassment (Pryor, 13).

The DoD worldwide survey mentioned by Pryor was conducted in 1988 with results announced in 1990. The 1988 DoD Survey of Sex Roles in the Active Duty Military showed that 64 % of women and 17 % of men reported they had been sexually harassed at least once during the year prior to the survey (Bastian et al., 1996). In most cases, victims were female, single and new to the unit. Their harassers typically outranked them. Twelve percent of those harassed reported the harassment-related use of annual leave or sick leave. Firestone and Harris have produced at least three analyses of the 1988 survey results (Firestone & Harris, 1994a, 1994b; Harris & Firestone, 1994).

In 1991, sexual harassment drew national attention during the Senate confirmation hearings for now-Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Although Thomas was confirmed, Anita Hill raised many questions in the minds of the American public. The television spectacle served at least one important purpose: It focused the nation’s attention on the issue of sexual harassment in the workplace, according to Susan Crawford (1994). She added that relationships between employers and employees, and between men and women, will never be quite the same (48).

The Navy’s infamous Tailhook incident occurred in late 1991 during a convention of Navy and Marine Corps pilots in Las Vegas. At least 26 women, half of them officers, were forced to run a gauntlet of rowdy conferees and were mauled and pawed. One of the women, Navy Lt. Paula Coughlin, testified that men grabbed her breasts and buttocks and pulled at her

pants until she thought she was going to be raped. She filed a complaint and finally went public with her story. Six months later, more than 1,000 officer promotions were delayed, and Navy Secretary H. Lawrence Garret and some high ranking officers were forced to resign. His replacement, J. Daniel Howard, ordered the entire Navy to “stand down” one day for sexual harassment training. In light of the Tailhook incident, the Navy proposed that the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) be amended to deal specifically with sexual harassment. DoD has not yet made such an amendment (Niebuhr, 260). Although publicity surrounding the convention made it appear sexual harassment is a problem unique to the Navy, a growing number of studies, some which are addressed below, confirm that sexual harassment exists in most organizations, both military and civilian (Culbertson & Rosenfeld, 1994). Coughlin forever altered the relationship between men and women, wrote Rowan Scarborough in *The Washington Times*. “Miss Coughlin’s complaints about the 1991 Tailhook Association convention helped usher in complaint hotlines, zero tolerance for sexual harassment and women in combat aviation” (Scarborough, 10).

A 1994 memorandum from Secretary of Defense William Perry further clarified the military’s sexual harassment policy to indicate that hostile environment harassment “need not result in concrete psychological harm to the victim, but rather need only be so severe or pervasive that a reasonable person would perceive, and the victim does perceive, the work environment as hostile or abusive.” The memorandum indicated that the definition applied both on or off duty for military members, and that that anyone in DoD “who makes deliberate or repeated unwelcome verbal comments, gestures, or physical contact of a sexual nature in the workplace is also engaging in sexual harassment” (Dansby, 20).

A 1995 DoD-wide sexual harassment survey was sent to 90,000 active-duty service members--65,000 women and 25,000 men. When results were made public in July 1996, they showed that 55 % of the women and 14 % of the men said they had experienced unwanted or uninvited sexual behavior within the past year. These figures represent a drop from the 1988 DoD survey, when 64 % of the women and 17 % of men said they had experienced harassment. Although the 1995 survey shows sexual harassment declining, it remains a major concern within DoD, said Edwin Dorn, Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness, “One person who experiences sexual harassment is too many. Sexual harassment affects people’s performance, good order and discipline,” Dorn added (Kozaryn, 1).

Not long after the favorable news about the decline in sexual harassment was disseminated to the public, other incidents or “scandals” surfaced. The accusations and the aftermath of these cases received widespread publicity--two cases at Army training posts because of the volume of complaints and the other because of the status of the person being accused, Sergeant Major of the Army Gene McKinney. The disposition of McKinney’s case still was being determined as this report was written.

Newspaper Search

The news media report, reflect and influence public opinion. In the United States, most reputable news media advocate the social responsibility theory of the press in which the media

seek to uphold their obligation to inform and educate the public--the audience members. News media also serve a “watchdog” function to inform the public of wrong doings in government agencies, such as the military services. Most journalists intend to be fair and accurate, but sometimes they let the drive to beat deadlines or to top the competition take control. Some audience members or the general public might perceive reporting as negative because it points out some flaws in a system. However, it may be a matter of perspective. Some persons may view the rash of reported sexual incidents as bad publicity for the military, while others might view the same situations as the military taking action to try remedy the matter.

Journalists consider news judgment elements when reporting the news. These factors include audience appeal, affect and effect, proximity, conflict, curiosity, celebrities and public people, and timeliness (Vivian & Murray). Since almost every American has either served in the military or knows someone who has served, many of the factors apply to the sexual harassment stories. Newspaper readers pay attention to such articles. News media influence and reflect public opinion, including that of members of the armed services.

Examined for this study were articles, editorials and columns from the Associated Press (AP) and seven daily newspapers: *Baltimore Sun*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*. The study also included the *Air Force*, *Army*, and *Navy Times*, widely-circulated unofficial weekly newspapers. The *Baltimore* and *St. Louis* papers were selected because they were the area metropolitan newspapers covering two of the biggest sexual harassment cases--at Ft. Leonard Wood, MO, and Aberdeen Proving Grounds, MD. The other newspapers were selected because they represent opinion leaders. A one-year period from July, 1996, to June, 1997, was chosen.

The newspaper search begins with a chronology of events as reported in the newspapers. The AP, which provides news services to all the newspapers in the study, offered 43 stories for the newspapers’ use during that period. Articles were counted to determine how many stories and of what type were printed by each newspaper. Items were classified into two broad categories: news coverage and opinion/ commentary consisting of columns, editorials, analyses and letters to the editor. Stories which reported factual information with attributed opinions were classified as news stories. Most of the opinion/commentary materials were labeled as such or appeared on editorial pages or “op-ed” pages facing editorial pages. Opinion materials were analyzed to determine their overall tone or theme. Table 1 shows the circulation of each newspaper, along with the total number of stories and opinion pieces in each publication.

Headlines such as: “Sexual harassment declining, women in the military report” (Weiner, 18) and “Sexual harassment slows” (Compart, 1996 b, 10) greeted the July 2, 1996, announcement of the results of the 1995 survey. On the other hand, the *Los Angeles Times* took this approach: “Pentagon survey finds much sex harassment,” indicating a “pervasive problem despite Defense Department efforts to stamp it out” (Kempster, 1). Syndicated columnist Harry Summers, a retired Army colonel, noted that women comprised 18 % of the military’s new recruits in the six-month period ending March 31, 1996. He advocated focusing efforts on getting rid of the “real harassment” such as unwanted touching, coercive proposals for sex and sexual assault (62).

Table 1

Newspaper	Circulation*	News Stories	Opinion/Editorials
Baltimore Sun	320,986	22	4
Los Angeles Times	1,021,121	25	4
New York Times	1,107,168	36	17
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	326,330	18	3
USA Today	2,040,000	24	14
Wall Street Journal	1,841,188	5	5
Washington Post	854,000	44	25
Air Force Times (w)	79,063	18	4
Army Times (w)	104,759	37	3
Navy Times (w)	81,245	22	4
Totals	7,775,860	251	83

* Figures provided by newspaper staffs in June 1997.

In November, 1996, “sex scandals” erupted at two Army posts--Fort Leonard Wood, MO, and Aberdeen Proving Grounds, MD. At Fort Leonard Wood, three drill sergeants were scheduled for court martial on charges of sexual misconduct with trainees, including “offensively touching” them. Seven other drill sergeants were suspended. Meanwhile at Aberdeen, the number of claims involving drill sergeants’ mishandling of trainees expanded. On the day the first drill sergeant pleaded guilty at Fort Leonard Wood, Army officials announced that investigations of possible sexual harassment were being expanded to all 17 of its training centers. The *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Los Angeles Times* and *St. Louis Post Dispatch* were among newspapers publishing feature accounts of the witnesses and reactions from soldiers. General Dennis Reimer, Army Chief of Staff, promised “zero tolerance.” More incidents were revealed at Aberdeen, and the Army opened a hotline for complaints. *USA Today* published the Army hotline number. A total of 3,102 calls were logged during the first week of the hotline, and 341 were referred to the Army Criminal Investigation Command for scrutiny. During November, 1996, at least 63 news stories appeared in the 10 papers. Some papers that had not run the survey results earlier referred to the statistics to illustrate at least half of military women had been sexually harassed in some manner.

Some columns and editorials dealt with power and responsibility, accountability, trust, re-emphasis on leadership, fraternization, and discipline. One columnist wrote that in the military, consensual relationships and harassment are swept under the rug together (Estrich, 23). The *Wall Street Journal* compared the Aberdeen scandal with Tailhook, concluding that although the offenses at Aberdeen were worse, the Army had the capacity to correct the situation (Moskos, 22). Linda Chavez wrote in *USA Today* “maybe it’s time to move more cautiously in this whole experiment with a unisex military.” She listed lessons Army could learn from Tailhook:

- * Don’t turn this investigation into a politicized witch hunt.
- * Don’t violate due process.
- * Avoid double standards. (15A).

Among news stories appearing in December 1996 was one about McKinney speaking to soldiers at Aberdeen. The *Army Times* quoted him as saying, “there are few manuals out there that tell you how to deal with people. We’ve got to teach our leaders how to show compassion,

especially in the case of sexual harassment” (McHugh, 1996, 1). The same *Army Times* announced Secretary of the Army West’s Senior Review Sexual Harassment Panel, which included McKinney as a member. Meanwhile, a Fort Leonard Wood drill sergeant was sentenced to 18 months in prison with a bad conduct discharge, while another was cleared of all charges. Lawyers for the accused soldiers at Aberdeen asked for a gag order, claiming “adverse publicity generated by officials’ comments will make it difficult for their clients to get fair courts-martial” (Valentine, B1). The judge refused. An article in the *Baltimore Sun* showed that most sex misconduct cases at Fort Jackson, SC, involved drill sergeants. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that as of December 26, 1996, the Army hotline had fielded nearly 6,600 calls with 977 of the calls deemed worthy of investigation.

One January 1997 story was about a private who hanged himself rather than face rape charges at Aberdeen. Sara Lister, Assistant Secretary of the Army for manpower and reserves, told *Army Times* the future is still bright for women in the Army (Patterson, 8). The Navy was investigating allegations of racial and sexual harassment charges at a brig in Charleston, SC, and a former airman had filed a sexual-harassment suit. Departing Secretary of Defense Perry stated he favors increasing roles of women in the military. In a *USA Today* commentary, Jill Nelson wrote that the Army has an opportunity to learn from its sex scandals (14).

In February 1997, new Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen, at his first Pentagon press conference, declared a zero-tolerance policy on sexual harassment. More actions continued in the Aberdeen case, and the Navy announced no harassment was found at its training bases. Meanwhile, at least 10 women alleged they were sexually assaulted by their male instructors at a Darmstadt, Germany, training center. However, the “shocker,” as the *Army Times* called it, came when retired Army Sergeant Major Brenda Hoster accused McKinney of sexual harassment (Patterson, 12). The top ranking enlisted advisor to the Army Chief of Staff was removed from the sexual harassment panel and eventually suspended from his duties. Later three other women filed claims against McKinney. He denied all charges.

The NAACP in March 1997 raised the question of racism in the Aberdeen Proving Grounds case, noting all 13 men facing charges were black, while the majority of their accusers were white women. The NAACP contended black men also have been disproportionately accused in Army cases pending elsewhere. McKinney’s accusers are white women. “The allegations of racism are likely to further complicate the Army’s efforts to resolve the sexual harassment investigations in a way that is politically, as well as legally, satisfactory,” wrote Paul Richter in the *L. A. Times* (17). Meanwhile, some women in the Aberdeen case recanted or changed their statements concerning their sex encounters. Five women at a press conference said their charges were coerced by investigators. On March 20, Capt. Derrick Robertson, a company commander, pleaded guilty to adultery and sodomy, and he was ordered to serve four months in prison and was dismissed from the Army. A March 18 editorial titled “Ghosts of Sexism and Racism” in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* stated that the “latest development in the Army sexual harassment cases at the Aberdeen proving grounds seems to have set racism and sexism, two virulent, volatile strands of bigotry, on a collision course. In the process, the controversy threatens to undermine the progress made toward the racial and sexual integration of the armed forces.” The editorial concluded that the Army’s option was to proceed carefully and fairly.

NAACP President Kweisi Mfume “raises issues that must be examined, but they shouldn’t derail the process of justice now under way” (6B).

As April 1997 closed, *USA Today* ran a story entitled “For Army, the focus now turns to remaining cases.” The article was accompanied by a drawing of Staff Sergeant Delmar Simpson, the drill sergeant found guilty on 18 of 19 cases of rape and several other charges. Twelve soldiers, their charges and status were listed. All were drill sergeants or instructors except Robertson. *The Baltimore Sun* stated that drill sergeants called sleeping with trainees “the game,” and willing female soldiers were “locked in real tight” (Wilson & Bowman, 1). *The Washington Post* on April 25 ran “capsule sketches” of six of Simpson’s alleged rape victims. Meanwhile, 20 women who claimed they were raped or sexually harassed while serving in the military joined two Congresswomen to call for a civilian commission to investigate sexual misconduct in the nation’s armed forces (Knight, 4). At Fort Leonard Wood, a drill sergeant admitted he posed nude for two young women who had just graduated from his platoon (Levins, 1B). “Gene McKinney is not a quitter” was the lead paragraph in an *Army Times* story headlined: “McKinney: Resignation not an option” (McHugh, 1997, 4).

On May 6, 1997, Simpson was sentenced to 25 years in prison. “Simpson’s lawyers said he was unfairly singled out because he is black. . . Chris Lombardi, spokeswoman for a group of former servicewomen who say they were sexually harassed or otherwise abused, said a tough sentence in one splashy case will not solve the problem,” according to *USA Today* (Komarow, 4A). The next day McKinney was charged with assault, adultery, solicitation, making threats and trying to obstruct an investigation. He was charged with mistreating three women subordinates and a female sailor. On May 29, a *Los Angeles Times* article quoted the Army’s top training official as saying possible remedies for the military’s sex scandal would include better screening and perhaps psychological testing to ensure the service does not give its powerful drill instructor jobs to the wrong people (Richter, A15). Editorials for May included one in the *Baltimore Sun* concluding: “Superiors and soldiers need a resource, perhaps outside normal channels, where they can get counsel and report improper advances and worse before circumstances devolve to the point they did in the landmark case of Delmar Simpson.” The *Washington Post* editorialized on May 1: “In the end, what happened at Aberdeen strikes us less as a case of hormones inevitably running rampant than as a blatant failure of command. Where were the higher-ranking officers while the accused drill sergeants organized their sex ring? They obviously were not communicating the Army’s admirable policies on sexual harassment.” A *New York Times* columnist referred to Simpson’s court martial as “an intriguing, even disturbing, look at the messy, unresolved issues of sex and power within the ranks” (Sciolino, IV-4).

During June 1997, sexual harassment incidents shared the spotlight with adultery charges and admissions of adultery by military officers. One casualty was Army Major General John Longhouser, whose career ended after someone called a hotline set up to cope with the scandal at Aberdeen, where he was commander. There were claims that his adulterous behavior five years earlier could have compromised his handling of sexual misconduct cases brought against soldiers at Aberdeen. Meanwhile, after requesting retirement, McKinney remained suspended in limbo, while one of two sergeants major named to handle his duties was his twin brother. In late June, a hearing began to determine if McKinney’s case would go to court martial. Lawyers for

McKinney, his accusers, and the news media, petitioned for and got an open hearing. Also, convictions for sex-related offenses spread overseas as a military jury in Darmstadt, Germany, found one Army sergeant guilty of 11 counts of sexual misconduct and another guilty of rape and sodomy. The Army closed its sexual harassment hotline June 15, saying the volume of calls had waned and the operation had been misused at times for acts of vengeance. In seven months, the operation fielded 8,305 calls and passed 1,354 tips to investigators, with 350 still under investigation as of June 16, 1997 (Graham, 11). The Navy's Adviceline, set up after Tailhook, registered 1,521 calls from men and 1,422 from women during 1993-96. The Adviceline remains open (Ginburg, 17).

Seeking possible remedies to prevent abuses during training, some Congress members led by Senator Robert Byrd advocated separate basic training for males and females. General William Hartzog, commander of the Army's Training and Doctrine Command, defended gender-integrated training.

Published opinions were numerous during June 1997. Several editorials and columns called for strong leadership and adherence to strict, clear standards to rectify the sexual misconduct situation. Columnist Bill Press in the *Los Angeles Times* wrote: "I was one of millions of young Americans who marched in protest against the Vietnam War, carrying banners that urged the military to 'Make Love, Not War.' Now I understand why the generals ignored us. It wasn't because they preferred to make war, after all. The generals just knew more than we did. They knew, way back then, that making love instead of war could get them into a whole lot more trouble" (Press, 7B). A *Washington Post* columnist summed up the situation: "The military, for some good reasons, has taken a lot of grief over the past few weeks. But the truth is that the armed services are working out in public what the rest of society has been trying, with only limited success, to work out for the past 30 years" (Dionne, 29).

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, both the daily newspapers and the service-related commercial weeklies thoroughly covered sexual harassment in the military from July 1996 through June 1997. Obviously, the military is trying to cope with its sexual harassment problem and is cooperating with the press in reporting the facts. The press presented both news and views with newspaper columnists and editorials raising some pertinent questions, such as:

1. Were accusations against the drill sergeants and SMA McKinney racially motivated?
2. Will the negative publicity affect recruiting, especially females?
3. Should there be more sexual harassment training for military members?
4. Should the services look more closely at potential drill instructors?
5. Should basic training be gender-integrated or separate?
6. Are hotlines useful tools against sexual harassment, even though revenge and crank calls may be received along with legitimate complaints?
7. When will leaders take responsibility for what happens within their commands?

The military's war against sexual harassment rages on, and the press continues to publicize it. Perhaps the press can be an effective agent to help expose and eradicate it.

References

- Bastian, L. D., Lancaster, A. R. & Reyst, H. E. (1996). *Department of Defense 1995 sexual harassment survey*. Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Chavez, L. (1996, Nov. 13). Tailhook lessons for the Army. *USA Today*, 15A.
- Compart, A. (1996a, July 15). Harassment statistics looking better, but are far from perfect. *Army Times*, 10.
- Compart, A. (1996b, July 15). Sexual harassment slows. *Air Force Times*, 10.
- Crawford, S. (1994, August). A brief history of sexual-harassment law. *Training*, 3(8), 46-49.
- Culbertson, A. L., & Rosenfeld, P. (1993). Assessment of sexual harassment in the active-duty Navy. *Military Psychology*, 6(2), 69-93.
- Dansby, M. R. (1998). Chapter 9: Cultural diversity and gender issues. In Cronin, C., (Ed.), *Military psychology*. Boston: Simon & Schuster.
- Dionne, E. J., Jr. (1997, June 13). The sex war. *Washington Post*, 29.
- Estrich, S. (1996, Nov. 13). Reality in the ranks. *Washington Post*, 23.
- Firestone, J. M., & Harris, R. J. (1994a). Sexual harassment in the U. S. military: Individualized and environmental contexts, *Armed Forces & Society*, 21, 25-43.
- Firestone, J. M., & Harris, R. J. (1994b). Perceptions of effectiveness of responses to sexual harassment in the active duty military. *Proceedings: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute Equal Opportunity Research Symposium* (51-59), Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Ginburg, Y. (1997, June 2). Harassment hotline draws more men than women. *Navy Times*, 17.
- Goldman, J. L. (1995). *The issue is . . . Sexual harassment!* (DEOMI Special Topics Series Pam 95-1). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Graham, B. (1997, June 16). Army shuts sexual harassment hot line. *Washington Post*, 11.
- Harris, R. J., & Firestone, J., M. (1994). Individual responses to sexual harassment in the U.S. military. *Proceedings: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute Equal Opportunity*

Research Symposium (51-59), Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

Kempster, N. (1996, July 3). Survey finds much sex harassment. *Los Angeles Times*, 1.

Knight, H. (1997, April 30). Civilian panel sought to probe sex abuse in military. *Los Angeles Times*, 4.

Komarow, S. (1997, May 3). Army sergeant sentenced to 25 years for raping trainees. *USA Today*, 4A.

Kozaryn, L. D. (1996, July). Sexual harassment declining, remains major concern. Press Release. Washington, DC: Armed Forces Press Service.

Levins, H. (1997, April 22). Drill sergeant admits posing nude. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1B.

McHugh, J. (1996, Dec. 2). SMA speaks to soldiers at Aberdeen. *Army Times*, 1, 22.

McHugh, J. (1997, April 28). McKinney: Resignation not an option. *Army Times*, 4.

Moskos, C. (1996, Nov. 14). The Army's Aberdeen is not the Navy's Tailhook. *Wall Street Journal*, 22.

Nelson, J. (1997, Jan. 31). Opportunity exists for Army in sex scandals. *USA Today*, 14.

Niebuhr, R. E. (1997). Sexual harassment in the military. In W. O'Donohue (Ed.), *Sexual harassment: Theory, research, and treatment*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Patterson, K. (1997, Jan. 20). Lister: Future still bright for women in the Army. *Army Times*, 8.

Popovich, P. M. (1988). *An examination of sexual harassment complaints in the Air Force for FY 1988*. (DEOMI Report No. 88-5). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

Press, B. (1997, June 4). Free the military of '50s prudery sex: Let officers make love if they can't make war. *Los Angeles Times*, 7B.

Pryor, J. B. (1988). *Sexual harassment in the United States military: The development of the DoD survey* (DEOMI Report No. 88-6). Patrick Air Force Base, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

Richter, P. (1997, May 29). Higher drill instructor standards urged. *Los Angeles Times*, 15A.

Scarborough, R. (1997, June 12). Promotion rules expected to change after adultery cases. *Washington Times*, 3.

- Sciolino, E. (1997, May 4). The Army's problems with sex and power. *New York Times*, IV-4.
- Summers, H. (1996, July 15). Go after the real harassment. *Air Force Times*.
- Valentine, P. (1996, Dec. 9). Lawyers seek gag order on Pentagon. *Washington Post*, B1.
- Vivian, J., & Murray, G. (1998). News judgment, in *Editing the News* (chapter 7; in press). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Weiner, T. (1996, July 3). Sexual harassment declining, women in the military report. *New York Times*.
- Wilson, S., & Bowman, T. (1997, April 17). At base, sex was 'the game.' *Baltimore Sun*, 1.

***Understanding Sexual Harassment in the Military: A Model for Future Research*⁵⁵**

Armando X. Estrada & Kimberly T. Schneider
University of Texas at El Paso

Abstract

Despite increased attention by civilian employers, federal organizations and the military, organizational surveys reveal that sexual harassment continues to be a widespread problem for the U.S. workforce (Bastian, Lancaster, & Reyst, 1996; Martindale, 1991; Schneider, Swan, & Fitzgerald, 1997; USMSPB, 1981, 1987, 1995). Though much has been learned about sexual harassment in various organizational settings, much of the research carried out in the military has been mainly atheoretical (e.g., Martindale, 1991). Many of the surveys conducted thus far have been of a purely pragmatic nature. Further, much of this research has focused on individual level outcomes while ignoring group level outcomes. Because military missions are accomplished by units and not individuals, it is critical to understand how sexual harassment impacts on military units. In the present paper, we propose a model to study the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in military units. Antecedents included in the model are unit gender ratios and unit climate for harassment. Consequences of sexual harassment include individual job-related outcomes (i.e., individual performance, satisfaction with work, psychological and behavioral withdrawal from the unit) and unit outcomes (i.e., unit performance, morale, cohesion). Though we do not reject the importance of individual outcomes to military members, we propose that sexual harassment

⁵⁵ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

in the military has important unit outcomes that need further investigation. These efforts are timely given that the cost of sexual harassment appears to be enormous (Faley, Knapp, Kustis, & Dubois, 1994). Given that current trends in downsizing appear to be continuing, the military cannot afford to lose good men and women to a problem that can be resolved through proper training and appropriate climates.

In the last decade, there has been a dramatic increase in research dealing with the topic of sexual harassment in the workplace. Numerous articles (e.g., Fitzgerald, 1993; Gruber, 1992; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Martindale, 1991) and books (e.g., Gutek, 1985; O'Donohue, 1997; Paludi, 1990; Stockdale, 1997) have appeared on this topic. Several factors may account for this increasing attention. First there has been increased government focus on sexual harassment in the federal workplace since the adoption of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) guidelines on sexual harassment in 1980 (EEOC, 1980). Secondly, legal attention to this issue increased following several important court cases (e.g., *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*, 1986; *Harris v. Forklift Systems, Inc.*, 1993). The third and most recent factor is the continued media attention that the topic generates (e.g., Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, Navy Tailhook convention, Army Aberdeen investigation). Together, these factors have contributed to the increased recognition that organizations need to prevent and combat sexual harassment in the workplace.

Despite the increasing attention given to sexual harassment by both civilian and federal organizations, it was not until the late 1980s that the Department of Defense (DoD) began to take aggressive steps to deal with sexual harassment in the military. In fact, it was not until 1988 that the DoD conducted the first comprehensive study of sexual harassment in the military (Martindale, 1991). Soon after, the "1991 Tailhook Convention" resulted, where numerous (male) naval aviators were reported to have engaged in an egregious form of sexual harassment (i.e., sexual assault) against their female counterparts (see *Time* or *Newsweek*, 1991). Since that time the DoD has recognized the need to deal with sexual harassment in the military. Numerous studies have examined both the prevalence and consequences of sexual harassment in the military (Faley, Knapp, Kustis, & Dubois, in press; Martindale, 1991; USMSPB, 1981, 1987, 1995). Though much has been learned about sexual harassment in the military, the research conducted in this area has been mainly atheoretical. Many of the surveys conducted thus far have been of a purely pragmatic nature. To better study the nature of sexual harassment in the military, we need to construct surveys that are grounded in theory. A theoretical approach would enable the DoD and its military branches to understand the complexity of both the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in the military.

The purpose of the present paper is to review the research on sexual harassment and to extend that knowledge to the U.S. military where possible. We will use a recently developed model of sexual harassment (Fitzgerald, Hulin, & Drasgow, 1994) to derive a model for understanding the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in the military. We will begin by briefly reviewing what is known about sexual harassment. Next, we review the Fitzgerald et al. (1994) model of the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment and

examine the research supporting the model. This is followed by an examination of what is known about sexual harassment in the military, including its antecedents and consequences. Finally, we propose a model for understanding sexual harassment in the military.

Review of Sexual Harassment Research

Large scale studies of the incidence of sexual harassment indicate that harassment is a widespread problem. A study of over 20,000 federal employees (USMSPB, 1981) indicated that 42% of the female respondents reported experiences that could be defined as sexual harassment. Schneider, Swan, and Fitzgerald (1997) reported that 68% of women working in a private sector organization and 63% of the women working in an academic setting experienced at least one harassing incident during the last two years at their organizations.

Adding to the scope of this problem is empirical evidence that most victims of sexual harassment do not experience isolated incidents; they are subjected to a pattern of sexually harassing behaviors. In the follow-up study of federal employees, 75% of the victims who had been subjected to sexual teasing and jokes and 54% of the women pressured for sexual favors experienced those behaviors more than once (USMSPB, 1987). Data from the private sector organization examined by Schneider and Swan (1994) indicated that 74% of 150 harassed women experienced unwanted sexual behaviors more than once. Schneider (1996) also found evidence that experiencing multiple harassment stressors resulted in worse job-related and psychological outcomes than experiencing a single type of harassment.

There is also a wide body of research specifying the negative job-related outcomes for victims of sexual harassment (Crull, 1982; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Gutek, 1985; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Morrow, McElroy, & Phillips, 1994; Schneider et al., 1997; USMSPB, 1981; 1987). Research has documented decreased morale and high levels of absenteeism (USMSPB, 1987), a negative impact of sexual harassment on job satisfaction (Gruber, 1992; Schneider & Swan, 1994), job loss as a result of sexual harassment (Coles, 1986; Crull, 1982; Loy & Stewart, 1984), deterioration in relationships with coworkers (Gutek, 1985; Loy & Stewart, 1984; Schneider et al., 1997), with supervisors (Schneider et al., 1997), and lower organizational commitment (Morrow et al., 1994; Schneider & Swan, 1994). There are also negative effects of harassment on mental health and physical health symptoms (Dansky & Kilpatrick, 1997; Loy & Stewart 1984; Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Schneider et al., 1997; Schneider, Tomaka, Goldsmith, & Palacios, under review).

In addition to individual level outcomes, it appears that harassment affects group level outcomes as well. For example, Schneider (1996) found that women who were aware of coworkers who were harassed (i.e., bystander stress) reported lower satisfaction with supervision and coworkers, lower life satisfaction, and higher levels of work withdrawal than women who were not aware of coworkers who were harassed. Men who knew coworkers who had been harassed also reported similarly negative outcomes. Glomb, Richman, Hulin, Drasgow, Schneider, and Fitzgerald, (in press) have also reported similar results.

The Fitzgerald et al. Model of Sexual Harassment

According to a model developed and tested by Fitzgerald and her colleagues (1994, 1997), sexual harassment can be conceptualized in terms of organizational and job characteristics. Organizational context includes “those aspects of organizational climate having to do with the tolerance of sexual harassment and the accessibility and effectiveness of harassment remedies” (Fitzgerald et al., 1994, p. 63). Job context refers to factors such as the gender composition of workgroups, gender of supervisor and job traditionality. Job and organizational context are posited to have a direct influence on the incidence of sexual harassment in the workplace. The experience of sexual harassment is specified as having a direct effect on individual work-related outcomes, psychological outcomes, and health outcomes.

A series of studies conducted by Fitzgerald and her colleagues provide general support for the model. Fitzgerald et al., (1997) found that organizational context predicted sexual harassment experiences. Specifically, harassment was more prevalent in situations where the perceived tolerance of harassment was high, as well as in those work groups with predominantly male members. Regarding outcomes of harassment, women who were harassed experienced more psychological problems, as well as more negative job-related attitudes and behaviors than women who were not harassed. In their test of the model, Fitzgerald et al. found that harassment experiences exerted a considerable negative effect on women’s outcomes over and above the effects of general job stress.

Other support for Fitzgerald et al.’s (1994) model comes from a test of an extended version of the model by Glomb et al. (in press). Glomb et al., using the work group as the level of analysis, found that in addition to direct experiences of harassment, indirect exposure to harassment within one’s work group resulted in negative psychological and job-related outcomes. Those employees who worked in groups where women reported high levels of harassment experienced worse job-related and psychological well-being compared to employees who worked in groups where harassment was uncommon. In addition, Glomb and her colleagues found support for the relationship between the antecedents of harassment specified by Fitzgerald et al., (i.e., organizational climate and job context) and harassment experiences.

Sexual Harassment in the Military

Beginning in 1988, at the request of the Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci, the military conducted its first survey of sexual harassment (Martindale, 1991). The survey, which included Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard personnel, was one of the largest and most comprehensive examinations of sexual harassment at that time. The results of the survey indicated that sexual harassment was common in the U.S. military. Sixty-four percent of the women and 17% of the men reported experiencing some form of sexual harassment. Consistent with the findings of the sexual harassment literature based on civilian organizations, coworkers were most often cited as perpetrating the harassment. Forty-five percent of those experiencing some form of sexual harassment reported that they were harassed by their military coworkers including personnel in their chain of command (e.g., immediate supervisor). As with surveys of civilians, ninety percent of these victims did not take formal action or seek assistance of

any kind (e.g., medical assistance, counseling). In addition, victims generally had less tenure and were of lower status than their harassers.

In 1989, after numerous cases were brought to media attention, the Navy began the implementation of the Navy Equal Opportunity and Sexual Harassment survey (NEOSH; Culbertson & Rosenfeld, 1994). Consistent with the DoD-wide findings in 1988, the NEOSH survey results indicated that sexual harassment was a serious problem for the Navy. Sixty-eight percent of the women in the active duty Navy, compared to only 5% of men, reported being sexually harassed (Culbertson, Rosenfeld, Booth-Kewley, & Magnusson, 1992). Consistent with DoD findings on sexual harassment, coworkers were most frequently the perpetrators. Forty-two percent of enlisted women and 34% of female officers reported that they were harassed by military coworkers. As with surveys of civilians, over half of both enlisted women and female officers who experienced harassment avoided the perpetrator.

More recent results of the NEOSH surveys also indicate continued widespread problems. A 1991 follow-up survey of 5,333 active duty Navy personnel indicated that sexual harassment is still prevalent (Culbertson, Rosenfeld, & Newell, 1993; Culbertson & Rosenfeld, 1994). Seventy-seven percent of the women and 10% of the men reported experiencing sexual harassment. A comparison of these findings to those of the 1989 NEOSH indicated that rates for female officers and male enlisted personnel had significantly increased whereas rates for enlisted women and male officers remained relatively stable (Culbertson & Rosenfeld, 1994). Consistent with the results of the 1989 NEOSH survey, more women than men reported experiencing all forms of sexual harassment. Consistent with earlier findings, harassers were most often coworkers and most of these victims did not take formal action, instead they dealt with the harassment in an informal manner. Similar to the 1989 NEOSH survey results, victims were of lower status than their harassers.

The most recent DoD survey mailed to over 90,000 active duty military personnel worldwide revealed findings consistent with those reported thus far. The results of the study (based on two of the three forms of the survey) indicated that sexual harassment continues to be a problem for military personnel. Relative to 1988, the rate of women experiencing sexual harassment within the past year declined; however a majority of women reported experiencing some form of sexual harassment (i.e., 55% for women vs. 14% for men; Bastian, Lancaster, & Reyst, 1996). Furthermore, 44% of the women, compared to only 7% of the men, reported experiencing at least one of the following: actual/attempted rape or sexual assault, pressure for sexual favors, touching, cornering, or pinching.

As with the previous DoD study (Martindale, 1991), sexual harassment was generally perpetrated by military coworkers. Consistent with Martindale's (1991) study, 76% of the victims did not take formal action. Also, sexual harassment was reported more often by junior enlisted than senior enlisted personnel or officers, and among female personnel even greater differences between junior and senior levels were reported. These results are particularly disturbing given the recent efforts of the military to deal with sexual harassment in its ranks. For example, 83% of the sample reported that they received some awareness training at their current

duty station and a majority of the sample reported they had received some type of training during the 12 months preceding the survey.

Results from surveys conducted at the DoD service academies mirror those found in the active duty force. A survey administered to random samples of 527 Naval Academy midshipmen (NA), 469 Military Academy cadets (MA), and 493 Air Force Academy cadets (AFA), indicated that, as with the active duty force, sexual harassment is a problem at the respective military academies. A large percentage of women and less than a quarter of the men attending one of the DoD service academies (e.g., NA, MA, and AFA) reported experiencing one or more forms of sexual harassment (Government Accounting Office, 1994). These behaviors occurred despite strict military laws governing all military personnel's behaviors. A military member found guilty of sexual harassment may be prosecuted for extortion, assault, and threat (Government Accounting Office, 1994). Thus, like the active duty force, the military academies need to focus on dealing with this pervasive problem.

A follow-up survey administered to 470 Naval Academy students, 430 Military Academy students, and 428 Air Force Academy students did not indicate that incident rates have declined (Government Accounting Office, 1995). In addition, women at the service academies expressed very little confidence in how the system deals with sexual harassment. A minority of women across all service academies felt that a victim of sexual harassment would receive support from either their classmates (40% NA, 26% MA, 32% AFA) or peers in their units (33% NA, 28% MA, 25% AFA). Further, less than half of the women across all service academies indicated that a reported incident would be thoroughly investigated and only approximately half (45% NA, 51% MA, 44% AFA) indicated that the offender would be appropriately disciplined. As previously noted, these behaviors are occurring despite proactive efforts taken by officials at the DoD service academies to deal with sexual harassment. All academies have policy statements addressing sexual harassment, training programs, and alternative channels for dealing with sexual harassment (see Government Accounting Office, 1994 for a review).

To summarize, evidence from the military services and their respective academies indicates that, as with civilian organizations, sexual harassment is a widespread problem for the military. The pervasiveness of this problem is surprising given that, unlike civilians, military personnel's behaviors are governed by strict military laws. Further, the DoD has made considerable efforts to deal with sexual harassment in the military. This suggests that efforts taken to deal with sexual harassment may have met with limited success. In part, this may be due to the pragmatic nature of the research on sexual harassment in the military. With the exception of the most recent DoD study (Bastian et al., 1996), much of the research conducted in this area has been mainly atheoretical. Further, this research has numerous limitations. Though some attention has been given to measurement issues (e.g., using multi-item measures of sexual harassment), the validity of measures included in the survey is unknown or questionable. Martindale's study (1991) failed to discuss the validity or reliability of the instruments. The surveys conducted by the DoD service academies provide no information about the instruments used or their underlying rationale. Further, though recent DoD surveys conducted have taken into account these shortcomings, they fail to pay attention to unit-level outcomes. Given that the military's mission is accomplished by units and not individuals, this is of critical importance. This has clear implications for unit

cohesion, unit morale, and unit performance. In what follows we will describe a model for studying sexual harassment in the military, with particular attention given to unit outcomes.

A Model of Sexual Harassment in the Military

Past research has shown that both organizational and job context variables can lead to increases in the incidence of sexual harassment in organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 1994, 1997). Research has also shown that sexual harassment can have negative impact on both the individual and the organization (Schneider et al., 1997). Research on sexual harassment in the military has largely focused on individual level outcomes while ignoring unit level variables (e.g., Bastian et al., 1996; Culbertson et al., 1993; Martindale, 1991). Because the military mission is accomplished by units and not individuals, it is critical to understand how sexual harassment impacts military units. Though we do not reject the importance of individual outcomes to military members, we propose that sexual harassment in the military results from both unit-level and job-level characteristics and has individual and unit outcomes. Given the nature of military missions, we see the emphasis on the unit, not the individual, as the most useful approach for understanding the impact of sexual harassment in the military. Consistent with approaches that focus on individual level outcomes (e.g., Fitzgerald et al., 1994), the present model attempts to explain the antecedents of military harassment and its effects on military units. Figure 1 specifies the proposed model of antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in a military setting.

As can be seen in our proposed model, antecedents include unit climate and the gender ratio of the unit. Consequences of harassment experiences include both individual-level and unit-level outcomes. In the following section we will elaborate on the various aspects of our model.

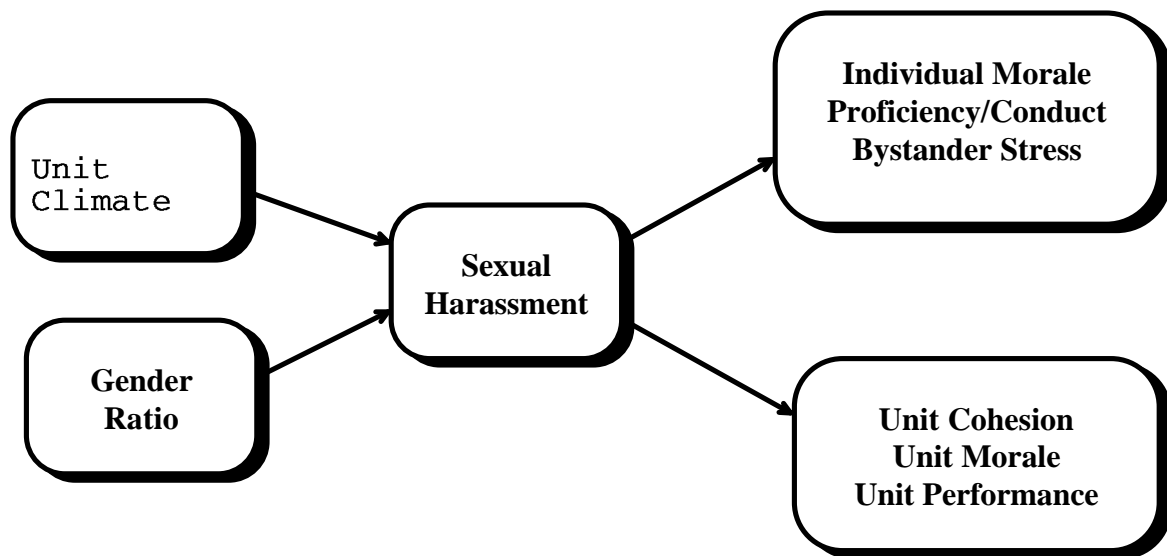


Figure 1. Model of sexual harassment.

Antecedents of Harassment

Unit Climate. An organization's tolerance of sexual harassment creates a climate that is an antecedent of sexual harassment episodes (Hulin, 1993; Zickar, 1994). A climate that is perceived by group members as tolerant of sexual harassment is generally one in which members feel that it is acceptable for them to engage in sexually harassing behaviors, or that if they are the target of sexual harassment it is unacceptable for them to complain about the treatment. Because of this, sexual harassment is likely to result in a situation where certain group members who may have a tendency to harass others perceive the organizational norms as condoning harassment. This approach assumes that harassment is a structural phenomenon, and is not due solely to individual deviance (Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita, & Russo, 1995). Therefore, in units where the climate is perceived as one that is tolerant of harassment there will be higher levels of sexual harassment reported by the members of the unit.

Gender ratio. It is likely that many military units will consist of a majority of men, with either women as the gender minority or a solo woman interacting with men. Kanter (1977) argued that women who are in the numerical minority in work groups become tokens and may be viewed by the numerical majority as "stand-ins" for all women. The gender ratio of the unit, therefore, may also be an important factor in explaining the experiences of the women in the unit. Harassment may be less likely to result in highly integrated work teams with equal numbers of men and women, or in work teams with a majority of women (Fitzgerald et al., 1997).

Consequences of Harassment: Individual Outcomes

Morale. Because sexual harassment is an individual-level phenomenon, individual morale may be negatively impacted by harassment experiences. Research has documented decreased morale and high levels of absenteeism (USMSPB, 1987); a negative impact of sexual harassment on job satisfaction (Gruber, 1992; Schneider & Swan, 1994); deterioration in relationships with coworkers (Gutek, 1985; Loy & Stewart, 1984; Schneider et al., 1996), and with supervisors (Schneider et al., 1996); and lower organizational commitment (Morrow, McElroy, & Phillips, 1994; Schneider et al., 1996). Accordingly, if an individual experiences harassment he or she may develop negative attitudes toward work, coworkers and supervisors. These negative attitudes may serve to lower individual morale.

Proficiency and Conduct. Because an individual experiencing harassment may have lower morale, negative work behaviors may also result. Research has shown that harassment leads to increased work and job withdrawal behaviors, including psychological withdrawal from day-to-day tasks and increased intentions to quit (Schneider et al., 1997). In the military, these behaviors may be evidenced by lower marks on both proficiency and conduct evaluations. Specifically, a unit member who experiences sexual harassment may be less motivated to work. Motivation to work would influence individual performance, resulting in lower proficiency and more conduct problems. Thus, sexual harassment may lead to poorer performance which would in turn result in lower proficiency and conduct marks.

Bystander Stress. Evidence from samples of university employees has indicated that both the male and female coworkers of victims are often aware of the sexual harassment experiences in their

work group (Schneider, 1996). Both men and women who were aware of the harassment of coworkers reported worse job-related and psychological outcomes than employees who were not aware of harassment in their work group. We hypothesize similar outcomes in military groups, specifically that men and women who are aware of the harassment of other unit members will report negative job attitudes and have worse proficiency and conduct marks than members who are not aware of harassment.

Consequences of Harassment: Unit Outcomes

Unit Cohesion. A unit's level of cohesion may be influenced in one of two ways by the effects of sexual harassment. If a unit member experiences harassment, other unit members may support the victim, thereby increasing the unit's cohesion. Alternatively, unit members may divide into factions based on those who support the victim and those who support the harasser. If members fractionalize, the divisiveness could interfere with the performance of both the victim and the unit and might negatively impact cohesion. If divisiveness results, the victim may attempt to avoid certain group members. However, this may not be possible in the military where individuals are often required to work as part of a team. Thus, military personnel may not be able to function effectively as unit members. Victims may not even have the option of psychologically withdrawing from the unit without jeopardizing the unit's productivity and cohesiveness.

Unit Morale. Because most military missions involve the participation of whole units rather than individuals, it is expected that sexual harassment experiences may not only affect the individuals involved but the performance of entire units as well. Some research provides support for this notion. Schneider (1996) found that negative outcomes were experienced by coworkers who were aware of sexual harassment incidents. Given that military missions involve entire units, sexual harassment may serve to impact negatively on unit morale. Specifically, in units where sexual harassment incidents involve individuals within the same unit (e.g., company, platoon, or squad), or who are of different status (e.g., harasser is higher ranking than the victim), or involve extensive investigation of other unit members, harassment incidents may serve to decrease unit morale.

Unit Performance. Unit performance in the military may be conceptualized in terms of a unit's readiness to carry out a mission. As such, unit performance may be influenced by a variety of factors including sexual harassment. Research has shown that sexual harassment can have negative effects on individual performance (Crull, 1982; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Gutek, 1985; Gutek & Koss, 1993; Morrow et al., 1994; USMSPB, 1981; 1987). In the military, where missions involve groups of individuals, sexual harassment can function to lower a unit's ability to perform the military mission. Support for this hypothesis comes from Glomb et al., who found that indirect exposure to harassment within one's work group resulted in negative psychological and job-related outcomes. Those employees who worked in groups where women reported high levels of harassment experienced worse job attitudes and behaviors, as well as worse psychological well-being, compared to employees who worked in groups where harassment was uncommon. Accordingly, we hypothesize that in units that report high levels of sexual harassment experiences, harassment incidents may serve to decrease unit performance as measured by traditional criteria (e.g., Mission Essential Task Appraisal, the Marine Corps Readiness Evaluation Standards).

Model's Hypotheses

We have proposed a causal model of the antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in military units (see Figure 1). Antecedents included in the model are unit gender

ratios and unit climate for harassment. Consequences of sexual harassment include individual job-related outcomes (i.e., individual performance, satisfaction with work, psychological and behavioral withdrawal from the unit) and unit outcomes (i.e., unit performance, morale, cohesion, discipline). This work will add to the research on sexual harassment by specifying the antecedents of harassment and by examining its effects on both the individual and the unit. Furthermore, the proposed research will provide information regarding the effects of sexual harassment on unit cohesion, unit morale, unit performance and bystander stress in the military, which can serve to enhance current efforts to reduce the impact of sexual harassment through training.

Specifically, we hypothesize that in units where the climate is viewed by members as tolerant of sexual harassment, more members will experience harassment. In addition, in units where the gender ratio is predominantly male, more female members will experience harassment. We also hypothesize that sexual harassment will serve to lower morale and lead to lower levels of performance (e.g., lower proficiency and conduct marks) at the individual level. Using a group level of analysis, we expect that units with higher levels of sexual harassment will have lower unit cohesion, unit performance, and unit morale.

These efforts are timely given that the costs of sexual harassment to the military appear to be enormous. Faley, Knapp, Kustis, and Dubois (1994) estimated that in 1988 the cost of the sexual harassment of 2,079 men and women in the United States Army was 533 million dollars. This figure was based on costs due to reduced productivity (over 36 million dollars), increased absenteeism (over 8 million dollars), the cost of the harasser and victim's time during the incident (over 9 million dollars), separation costs (over 6 million dollars), training costs (over 282 million dollars) and replacement costs (over 164 million dollars). The figure does not include costs based on litigation fees or medical or counseling services used by the victims, so it should be viewed as a conservative estimate of the cost of sexual harassment. Thus, sexual harassment not only represents a threat to unit cohesion, morale, and performance but it translates into money lost due to decreased percentages of re-enlistment and increased costs for recruitment of qualified personnel. Given that current trends in downsizing seem to be continuing, the military cannot afford to lose good men and women to a problem that can be resolved through proper training and appropriate climates.

References

- Bastian, L. D., Lancaster, A. R., & Reyst, H. E. (1996). Department of defense 1995 sexual harassment survey (DMDC Report No. 96-014). Arlington, VA: Defense Manpower Data Center.
- Beehr, T. A., & McGrath, J. E. (1992). Social support, occupational stress and anxiety. Anxiety, Stress, and Coping, 5, 7-19.
- Coles, F. S. (1986). Forced to quit: Sexual harassment complaints and agency responses. Sex Roles, 14, 81-95.
- Crull, P. (1982). Stress effects of sexual harassment on the job: Implications for counseling. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 52, 539-544.
- Culbertson, A. L., & Rosenfeld, P. (1994). Assessment of sexual harassment in the active-duty Navy. Military Psychology, 6, 69-93.
- Culbertson, A. L., Rosenfeld, P., Booth-Kewley, S., & Magnusson, P. (1992). Assessment of sexual harassment in the Navy: Results of the 1989 Navy-wide survey (Report No. NPRDC TR 92-11). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.
- Culbertson, A. L., Rosenfeld, P., & Newell, C. E. (1993). Sexual harassment in the active-duty Navy: Findings from the 1991 Navy-wide survey (Report No. NPDRC TR-94-2). San Diego, CA: Navy Personnel Research and Development Center.
- Dansky, B. S., & Kilpatrick, D. G. (1997). Effects of sexual harassment. In W. O'Donohue (Ed.), Sexual harassment: Theory, research and treatment (pp. 162-174). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (1980). Guidelines on discrimination because of sex. Federal Register, 45, 74676-74677.
- Faley, R. H., Knapp, D. E., Kustis, G. A., & DuBois, C. L. Z. (in press). Estimating the organizational costs of sexual harassment: The case of the U.S. Army. Journal of Business and Psychology.
- Faley, R. H., Knapp, D. E., Kustis, G. A., & DuBois, C. L. Z. (1994, April). Organizational costs of sexual harassment in the workplace: The case of the U. S. Army. Paper presented at the ninth Annual Conference of the Society of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Nashville, TN.
- Fitzgerald, L. F. (1993). Sexual harassment: Violence against women in the workplace. American Psychologist, 48, 1070-1076.

- Fitzgerald, L. F., Drasgow, F., Hulin, C. L., Gelfand, M. J., & Magley, V. (1997). The antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in organizations: An integrated model. Journal of Applied Psychology, 82, 578-589.
- Fitzgerald, L. F., Hulin, C. L., & Drasgow, F. (1994). The antecedents and consequences of sexual harassment in organizations: An integrated model. In G. P. Keita & J. J. Hurrell, Jr. (Eds.), Job stress in a changing workforce: Investigating gender, diversity, and family issues (pp. 55-73). Washington, DC: APA Press.
- Glomb, T. M., Richman, W. L., Hulin, C. L., Drasgow, F., Schneider, K. T., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (in press). Ambient sexual harassment: An integrated model of the antecedents and consequences. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes.
- Government Accounting Office. (1994). DoD service academies: More actions needed to eliminate sexual harassment (GAO/NSIAD-94-6). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accounting Office.
- Government Accounting Office. (1995). DoD service academies: Update on extent of sexual harassment (GAO/NSIAD-95-58). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accounting Office.
- Gutek, B. A. (1985). Sex and the workplace. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Gutek, B. A., & Koss, M. P. (1993). Changed women and changed organizations: Consequences of and coping with sexual harassment. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 42, 28-48.
- Gruber, J. E. (March, 1992). The sexual harassment experiences of women in nontraditional jobs: Results from cross-national research. Proceedings of the First National Conference on Sex and Power Issues in the Workplace, Bellevue, WA.
- Gruber, J. E., & Bjorn, L. (1982). Blue-collar blues: The sexual harassment of women autoworkers. Work and Occupations, 9, 271-298.
- Harris v. Forklift Systems Inc., 114 S Ct 367 (1993).
- Hulin, C. L. (1993). A framework for the study of sexual harassment in organizations: Climate, stressors, and patterned responses. Paper presented at the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, San Francisco, CA.
- Kanter, R. M. (1977). Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Koss, M. P., Goodman, L. A., Browne, A., Fitzgerald, L. F., Keita, G. P., & Russo, N. F. (Eds.). (1995). No safe haven: Male violence against women at home, at work, and in the community. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Loy, P. H., & Stewart, L. P. (1984). The extent and effects of sexual harassment of working women. Sociological Focus, 17, 31-43.

- Martindale, M. (1991). Sexual harassment in the military: 1988. Sociological Practice Review, 2, 200-216.
- Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson, 477 U.S. 57 (1986).
- Morrow, P. C., McElroy, J. C., & Phillips, C. M. (1994). Sexual harassment behaviors and work related perceptions and attitudes. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 45, 295-309.
- O'Donohue, W. (Ed.). (1997). Sexual harassment: Theory, research, and treatment. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Paludi, M. A. (Ed.). (1990). Ivory power: Sexual harassment on campus. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Schneider, K. T. (1996, August). Bystander stress: Effects of sexual harassment on coworkers. In J. Schmidtke (Chair), Symposium on Responses to Sexual Harassment. Symposium conducted at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto.
- Schneider, K. T., & Swan, S. (1994, April). Job-related, psychological, and health effects of sexual harassment. In C. L. Hulin (Chair), Symposium on sexual harassment. Symposium conducted at the Ninth Annual Conference of the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Nashville.
- Schneider, K. T., Swan, S., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (1997). Job-related and psychological effects of sexual harassment in the workplace: Empirical evidence from two organizations. Journal of Applied Psychology,
- Schneider, K. T., Tomaka, J. T., Goldsmith, S. D., & Palacios, R. (1997). Women's physiological reactions to a male coworker's sexist behavior. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Stockdale, M. S. (Ed.). (1997). Sexual harassment in the workplace: Perspectives, frontiers and response strategies. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1981). Sexual harassment of federal workers: Is it a problem? Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1987). Sexual harassment of federal workers: An update. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- U. S. Merit Systems Protection Board. (1995). Sexual harassment in the federal workplace: Trends, progress, continuing challenges. Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office.
- Zickar, M. (1994, April). Organizational antecedents of sexual harassment. In C. L. Hulin (Chair), Symposium on sexual harassment. Symposium conducted at the Ninth Annual Conference for the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Nashville.

Invited Speaker

Dr. Dan Landis⁵⁶
University of Mississippi

***The Future of Intercultural Research:
Application to the Military Setting***⁵⁷

Abstract

Some 15 research areas that will form the focus of much intercultural research over the next couple of decades are identified and discussed. Many of these domains have applications to the military setting as the Armed Forces strive to become more diverse in personnel and mission. The major part of the presentation will be devoted to outlining how these research areas can benefit the mission and effectiveness of the military.

In 1983 and again in 1996, I was involved in publishing the two editions of the *Handbook of Intercultural Training* (Landis & Brislin, 1983; Landis & Bhagat, 1996). I became involved in these projects despite the fact that most of my research had involved intracultural studies (studies of race relations in various American institutions, e.g., Landis, Day, McGrew, Thomas, & Miller, 1976; Landis, Brislin, & Hulgus, 1985). However, I was convinced that intra- and intercultural studies have a common basis and therefore each edition included both types of contributions. At the same time, beginning in the early 1970s, we conducted a number of studies of racial issues in the military. These studies continued sporadically until the late 1980s when, at the invitation of DEOMI and Mickey Dansby, we embarked on the conceptualization and operationalization of the military equal opportunity climate construct resulting in the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS). Parallel with this work, I continued an interest in the intercultural aspect of the domain through the editorship of the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, involvement with the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR), and active participation in the formation of the International Academy for Intercultural Studies.⁵⁸

The above recitation of a personal history is not presented for narcissistic reasons but rather to show how superficially disparate strains can coexist. It is those strains that I will attempt to integrate in this paper. My purpose is to summarize what I believe to be the major challenges for intercultural relations research in the near future and how those tasks have implications for the

⁵⁶ This paper is a revised version of a paper given upon completion of the author's term as the Col. Shirley J. Bach Visiting Professor at the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.

⁵⁷ The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

⁵⁸ Information on the Academy can be had at its home page: <http://www.watervalley.net/users/academy/academy.htm>

prosecution of military studies on fields like prejudice, discrimination, and equal opportunity training.

Structure of the paper: The *leitmotif* of this paper is a sampling of papers that have appeared in the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* over the past two or three years. This sample gives, I propose, a fairly good picture of where the field is and where it needs to be going. While few of these papers deal directly with military topics, almost all have implications for the military. It is those implications that I will attempt to draw. I make no pretense that the field has been completely covered or that all the implications have been drawn. Others may disagree on my ability to discern patterns and I have no problem with such disagreement. This is, most assuredly, a personal look into the nexus of a field. I invite others to make similar journeys.

My sojourn suggests some 15 issues. There are, of course, many more; but, these are ones that speak particularly clearly to the military situation. For convenience, these are grouped into those involving theory and methodology and those involving specific contexts. Again, while this distinction is arbitrary, it does make some sense when we reflect on how the field is organized into scholars and researchers on the one hand and trainers on the others.

Issues Involving Theory and Methodology

Issue 1: The contact hypothesis is increasingly under attack

It is arguably true that most of what we do in intercultural and equal opportunity training has its intellectual roots in a single work: Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). In this seminal work, Allport outlined what has come to be called the "contact hypothesis." Allport noted that prejudice:

...may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (Allport, 1954, p. 267).

In the years since the Allport book was published, many variants of the contact hypothesis have appeared. Such versions have included the Common In-group Identity Model (e.g., Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996) and Brewer's Theory of Optimal Distinctiveness (e.g., Brewer, 1991; Brewer, 1996). Both models deal with an implication from the contact hypothesis: that prejudice decreases when the boundary between the in- and out-group becomes thin or non-existent. Each model has produced mainly laboratory data to support their propositions. However, when real groups which have experienced considerable intergroup tension are used with conditions arranged to favor "decategorization," it is not clear that using cross-cutting (an operationalization of the Optimal Distinctiveness Model) produces the desired positive changes. For example, when Rich, Kedem, and Schlesinger (1995) used groups of religious and secular

Israeli preteen children, they found that the Model worked for “natural” categories like gender and failed when a value category like religion was used. That is, greater social acceptance after treatment occurred for religious out-group persons only when they were of the same gender as the person in the in-group. Since the setting for the study was a fairly natural one and the religious distinction one that engenders considerable hostility in the Israeli situation, the results suggest that decategorization would appear to be quite resistant to change. It may be that categorization on the basis of gender is a more primitive form of stereotyping (e.g., Smith & Branscombe, 1984) than is religious affiliation. Hence the latter is easier to change than the former.

Despite the negative findings of the Rich et al. study, other researches continue to suggest that some aspects of the contact hypothesis may be valid. For example, Wood and Sonleitner (1996) using survey data from Oklahoma City, found that childhood interracial contact in schools was a significant predictor of adult stereotype disconfirmation and decreased prejudice. When childhood interracial contact occurred, the level of adult negative stereotypes decreased and the opposite was also true. The effect remained robust even when control variables (e.g., gender, age, education, and family income) were added to the predictor equation. Findings supporting the contact hypothesis were also reported by Horenczyk and Bekerman (1997). These authors measured in-group and out-group stereotyping from a group of American Jewish teenagers visiting Israel and participating in a structured contact situation. Positive changes were reported as a result of the contact irrespective of participation in the structured experience. More important, in my opinion, is the observation that the boundaries between in-group and out-group could hardly be said to contain as much affect as for example between Arab and Jew in Israel, black and white in America, or Protestant and Catholic in Northern Ireland. Again, the contact model, and its descendants seem most applicable in situations where the borders between groups have not been encrusted with years of mistrust, anger, and hate.

The best research design calls not for testing a theory against the absence of an effect (the “null” hypothesis), but for testing contrasting models against one another. This is rarely done in any area of social science research, much less in intercultural studies. One study that did attempt such a contrast was reported by Tzeng and Jackson (1994).

The Tzeng and Jackson study involved testing the effects of levels derived from three models (contact, social identity, and realistic group conflict [e.g., Sherif, 1979]). Scales were developed to measure each model as well as three types of hostile reactions (behavioral intentions, affective, and cognitive evaluations). Results indicated that all three models predicted level of hostile reactions for the white subjects only, but for blacks only the contact theory seems to hold up. An implication from this finding would be that whites (or majority groups) can find many reasons for negative reactions to minority groups, but for blacks such decisions are based on the nature of past (real) interactions.

The upshot of many years of research since the Allport book is that the effects of contact are far more complex than we might have thought at one time. More intriguing is the possibility that all theories might be true for some groups and that there, consequently, may not exist reciprocity between in and out-groups. The implication is that in any intercultural training

situation we need to take account that the treatments might have differential effects on the groups involved. Hence, totally different experiences might be necessary for members of in- and out-groups.

Implications for the military. The military has generally taken the position that it is irrelevant to its mission as to whether or not contact does in fact decrease prejudice, reduce in-group/out-group distinctions, or change stereotypes. These are attitudes and what is important is how military members behave while on the job. At the same time, the military has, in its actual behaviors, acted as if the contact hypothesis (at least as propounded by Allport) were, in fact, true. So, the various policies surrounding equal opportunity provide the “institutional supports”; the stress placed on unit *esprit de corps* provides a common task, and separation by ranks, across groups, in work and social environments deals with the third leg of the hypothesis. However, there is little evidence of changed attitudes or beliefs about other groups as a result of these policies and activities. It is most probable that race is like gender in that it is a default social categorization, most likely because it is marked by clearly discernible physical characteristics. In more recent years, the emphasis has been on the first part of the hypothesis. Here I refer to the decision by then Secretary of Defense Perry to require all flag rank officers, serving and designate, to undergo equal opportunity training. The underlying rationale for this training is, clearly, to enhance the perception of a strong institutional support for a policy of equal opportunity. This is certainly important, but one has to wonder if it is enough given the possibility that stereotyping by race and gender may be quite basic ways of categorizing people in the social world. If so, then more vigorous actions may be necessary and it may, indeed, be necessary to focus once again on the changing of attitudes to provide a support for changed behaviors. There has been recent evidence that the use of normative pressure may change private beliefs in a direction favorable to antiracist sentiments (e.g., Blanchard, Lilly, & Vaughn, 1991). Such procedures should be investigated to move the military to a racially free attitude as well as behaviorally neutral institution.

A rather neglected area of investigation is the behavior of military members when assigned to foreign bases. It is here that intercultural relations theory and practice may make important contributions. The intercultural behavior of service people has generally been ignored, the assumption being that military members will generally socially interact with others of their own kind and have relatively little to do with the host populations. That this assumption has been false can be confirmed by simply counting the number of intercultural marriages on any military base or post. In the past few years there have been a number of particularly egregious events (for example in Okinawa and actions by Canadian Airborne forces in Somalia [Winslow, 1997]) which call into question the policy of ignoring the need to provide effective intercultural training.

Issue 2: The need to develop more complex and rich models

In 1983, and again in 1996, my colleagues and I proposed a model of intercultural behavior (Brislin, Landis, & Brandt, 1983; Landis & Bhagat, 1996). Those models are individualistic in focus and path analytic in format. Those models attempted to place the major antecedents of intercultural behavior into some sort of a logical scheme from which predictions

could be made. It was hoped when we formulated the original version in 1983 that researchers would begin the process of putting quantitative indexes on the links in the models. Sadly, that was not the case. Perhaps it was because the models were too complex, containing too many variables. Nevertheless, it should be apparent that intercultural behavior is a complex phenomenon that demands many variables for its explication.

Others in the past few years have echoed the need for going beyond the two- or three-variable model. And, still others (e.g., Anderson, 1994) have reminded us that intercultural behavior is not unique in human experience. In Anderson's view the process of cross-cultural adaptation can best be thought of as a special case of sociopsychological adjustment. She suggests that since all adaptation is cyclical, we should not be surprised if the same holds true of adjusting to a new culture. The import of her theorizing is that intercultural behavior becomes linked to well researched theories in other domains of social science, in this case psychology. Based on her model (Anderson, 1994; p.310-311), she defines six major categories of reactors to another culture: returnees (those who withdraw at an early stage); time servers (those who appear to be doing their jobs, but are really simply serving out their time, otherwise known as "brown-outs"); escapers (those who remain, but are always motivated by the urge to leave it all behind); beavers (counterparts of the escapers--they escape their work by burying themselves in the minutiae of their tasks); adjusters (people who are activity coping, still trying to fit in and working at it--they are conscious of the lack of fit and are constantly worried by it); and participators (people who are effective, demonstrate a willingness to learn and to expand their own subjective cultures to include the host). While her model is even more complex than the one that we have described in the *Handbook*, it has value in alerting us to the many variables to go into determining how a person reacts to an unfamiliar culture.

Complex model building requires the use of rather sophisticated statistical tools. We are beginning to see the application of such tools in understanding the development and maintenance of culture (e.g., Gaertner et al., 1996; Ruggiero, Taylor, & Lambert, 1996). In both the Gaertner and Ruggiero papers, structural equation modeling (SEM) has been used to develop causal nets describing relevant phenomena. The research by Ruggiero and colleagues probed a previously unstudied variable (ethnic discrimination) in maintaining an ethnic heritage. In a very carefully designed study, these authors demonstrated a robust relationship between host discrimination and culture maintenance. Though such a relationship had often been speculated about by observers of the rise of the black consciousness movement in American, this is the first time that I can recall that it has been quantitatively determined. However, contrary to expectation and in line with common sense, it was found that the occurrence of personal discrimination (e.g., by police) produced lower ethnic heritage maintenance. The multiple R^2 was .90, quite good for these types of data. As more and more multivariable data sets become available, the use of powerful statistical methods to tease out causal paths will become more common.

Implications for the military. The military has generally ignored the possibility that working with the culturally/ethnically different may be a disturbing and transitional experience for some people. Thus, in the process of living and working in an integrated environment, the unprepared military member may go through a process not unlike the person entering a new

culture for the first time. The process of decategorization may not be a pleasant one and may hold the possibility of a person's recoiling into an even more extreme level of prejudice.

A second implication deals with the requirements for validating complex social theories. One of the procedures that the military is very good at is the construction of very large and well designed databases. The MEOCS is one, of course. But others exist that are more pertinent to the topic of this paper (e.g., the sexual harassment database produced by the Department of Defense Management Data Center). Such databases provide the Ns necessary for the testing of multivariate models using more powerful analytic techniques than those available in ordinary regression techniques. The studies of causal antecedents of commitment to a service career by Landis, Dansby and Tallarigo (1996) and Bartle, McIntyre, Landis and Dansby (1997) are examples of this approach. Both of these studies used structured equation modeling (SEM) and although they came to somewhat different conclusions, one thing they did agree on was that equal opportunity climate is a significant precursor of several important indicators of organizational functioning.

Issue 3: Development of psychometrically adequate scales for measuring cross-cultural adaptation and other dimensions

Many studies fail to find significant results (or they present weak findings) because the measures are psychometrically flawed. These measures will have low reliability and, consequently, low validity. At least four recent papers have included rigorously developed measuring instruments (Pruegger & Rogers, 1994; Dawson, Crano, & Burgoon, 1996; Dunbar, 1997; Landis, Dansby, & Tallarigo, 1996). Two of these researches present new quantitative measures and the third refines an already existing scale. Pruegger and Rogers (1994) developed a new measure, the Cross-cultural Sensitivity Scale (CCSS). The CCSS has quite good reliability ($\alpha=.93$) and has two parallel forms, thus permitting use in repeated measures designs. Since the measure was developed in Canada, it is no surprise that the items have a strong Canadian emphasis. However, other investigators in other countries could easily follow the same procedure to develop equally good versions of the CCSS.

Dunbar (1997) presents a three-factor measure of multi-group identity. Developed using a large multiethnic sample, reported reliability is quite good for each of the three factors: Perceived social support, empowerment, and ascribed identity. The importance of this measure is that it can be used to evaluate the progress of groups who are subjected to racial or ethnic awareness programs. Having a well developed and multidimensional scale would relieve the program designer of the responsibility to construct and validate their own psychometrically sound measures.

Dawson et al. (1996) take an already existing measure, The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA) and statistically examine its internal structure. Though the ARSMA had been reported to have a multi-factor structure, Dawson et al. extracted a shorter, but factor-pure version that had an equally high reliability as the full measure. And, they demonstrated that the short (10 item) version measures the same construct as the full (21 item)

version. Having a ten-item scale to use to assess program effectiveness is certainly more conserving of participant time than longer testing procedures.

To summarize, the development of psychometrically sound measures has two advantages. One, it conserves the energy of the program developer. Two, it provides an assessment of program effectiveness which allows the separation of treatment from random effects. To the extent that the measure has high reliability it will be sensitive to small but significant changes due to the treatment. All of these are highly desirable, since treatments that are effective will be retained and those that are not can be discarded.

Implications for the military. The import for the military is the same as for all social sciences. It is arguably true that the military has generally paid more attention to the psychometric properties of its measuring instruments than have others engaged in intercultural research. Such attention is probably due to the long history of measurement research in the various military personnel research centers such as the Army Research Institute and the Navy Personnel Research Development Center. The challenge will be to use these well-developed instruments to assess the effectiveness of the various programs now in place and those to be developed to reduce intercultural friction. This means that pressure to use “quick and dirty” measures of program success must be resisted and that will, I suspect, be difficult in the military and political setting.

Moving away from the internal situation in the United States and recognizing that the military is an international organization whose members interact with host nationals, the development of intercultural training programs will become increasingly important. As such the evaluation of such programs will require data being gathered from host nationals. Of particular interest will be measures tapping how the military members and host nationals see one another. These will require measures that are functionally equivalent—that is, have been back translated (Brislin, 1980).

The reason for the failure to develop such measures in the military is twofold. The first issue is the failure to find meaningful differences in predictability using aptitude measures in the civilian and military sector. That is, the regression lines for ethnic minorities and Caucasian military members generally parallel one another. This would suggest that the measures function equally well in both populations. On the other hand, this consistent finding may mean that the ethnic minorities have learned to be bicultural and act “white” when such behavior is demanded by the situation. This is particularly likely with individuals and groups who are striving to become either assimilated or integrated, to use John Berry’s analysis of group reactions to migration (Berry, 1997).

Complementary to the technical and psychometric reason outlined above is the political aspect. Acceptance of the idea of conceptually equivalent measures implies acceptance of the concept of multiculturalism. Politically, the concept of multiculturalism slides easily over into the construct of quotas, even though the two ideas are quite unrelated. In the military, as in today’s society, programs directed only at minority servicepeople are unacceptable to many interest groups because they are special efforts not available to others or likely to stigmatize the receiving

group. The development and use of different measuring instruments are likely to be seen in a similar fashion and seen as unacceptable to both majority and minority groups.

While it is politically dangerous to develop equivalent measures to be used to assess aptitudes, attitudes, and behaviors between groups in the military, it is certainly less problematic to conceive of such instruments in the international context. I suggest that as the military becomes involved in more nonmilitary tasks outside the boundaries of the United States the development of such measures will come to be seen as necessary.

Issue 4: Investigators will continue to question the generality of theories of intergroup conflict

The Rich et al. (1995) and Tzeng and Jackson (1994) studies described earlier suggest, beyond questioning the truth of certain theories, that those theories might not be adequate descriptions for all culture groups engaged in intercultural conflict. Hence, in order to make those theories work, additional variables or constants might have to be added--in other words the theories have to become more complex.

Perhaps a theory that has the distinction of being one of the most researched derives from the work of Hofstede (1980; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994). In that well-known work, Hofstede put forth the construct that cultures can be organized along four dimensions: individualistic-collectivistic, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity. Many studies have used the four-part structure in explaining cultural differences--especially the individualistic factor. However, Fons Trompenaars ignited a small controversy with his book, *Riding the Waves of Culture: Understanding Cultural Diversity in Business* (Trompenaars, 1993; Hofstede, 1994, 1997; Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1997). The argument is rather arcane, but revolves around whether the seven Trompenaars dimensions (universalism, individualism, emotionalism, specific versus diffuse, achievement versus ascription, time orientation, and attitudes toward the environment) are really derivations of the individualistic⁵⁹ factor of Hofstede. Even more bothersome is the possibility that both approaches are faulty because they base their generalizations on the use of etic approaches to study emic phenomena as well as committing the ecological fallacy. More to the point of this section, however, is Trompenaars' belief that the dimensions organize themselves in different ways in different cultures, thus calling into question the linear combinations implied by the Hofstede approach. I am not going to even attempt to resolve this debate here. But, to the extent that the debate centers around the issue of the applicability of the Hofstede dimensions (which were derived from a questionnaire based on a number of well-known American scales, e.g., the California Psychological Inventory) across cultures, the implications for research are pervasive. Perhaps the reduction to four dimensions in the Hofstede structure fails to capture the real differences in ways people in different cultures view their social world. These are issues that will continue to excite us in the years ahead.

Implications for the military. Considerable evidence (e.g., Albert, 1996; Buriel, 1975) has indicated that, for example, Hispanic groups tend to be more collectivistic in outlook than Caucasian groups and may have had different socialization patterns. Members entering from

⁵⁹ Trompenaars does not deal with the possibility that the first Hofstede factor is not bipolar, but really two unipolar dimensions (Wink, 1997).

other ethnic backgrounds may have developed similar cultural “syndromes” (Triandis, 1994). The prevailing military doctrine varies between individualistic and collectivism in how individuals should perform. On the one hand, a team performance doctrine implies a collectivistic set of behaviors. On the other hand, the member is encouraged to assume leadership and exhibit initiative when called for by the situation—an individualistic approach. But, it may be easier for Caucasian members to adapt to this variance since they have had experience with institutions (e.g., schools) which often demand similar switching. Minority members may not have had as much experience. The experience from their homes may have emphasized the collectivistic syndrome. In the military they may, thus, function much more effectively in collectivistic roles. However, advancement in the military goes much more commonly to those who can effectively switch from one syndrome to the other (i.e., can act individualistically when dealing with those who are lower in their chain of command and collectivistically with those who are superordinate). The training of individuals who can effectively switch syndromes may be the key to the military becoming truly integrated.

Issue 5: Development of a bridge between culture specific and culture-general assimilators

Some may wonder why I place a clearly “technique” discussion under “Theory and Methodology.” I do it because the culture assimilators (Cushner & Landis, 1996) are one of the few techniques derived directly from theory--the theory of attributions and Triandis’ statement of isomorphic attributions. In the past few years, assimilator development has diverged into two paths: the culture specific and culture general. These are analogues of the distinction between emic and etic, which has also framed much of the discussion in cross-cultural research. To put a fine point on the discussion: are there certain commonalities in the subjective culture of societies such that a person who grasps those similarities will be able to function quite well no matter on what shore they wash up upon? This concept forms the logic behind the culture-general assimilator (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986; Cushner & Brislin, 1996). At the same time, the development of culture-specific assimilators proceeds apace (e.g., Tolbert & McLean, 1995). What is needed is an overarching theory to guide development of both the general and specific assimilators (Bhawuk, 1997). Furthermore, there is, to my knowledge, no study comparing the effects of each against the other to determine which is most efficient. Put another way, the challenge is to determine what attributions are common to all human experience and which are unique to particular groups of humans. This is a challenge that has yet to be met.

Perhaps the challenge can be addressed by suggesting the following: “Arrival” behaviors (those that are necessary upon arrival or first contact with another culture) are more likely to be universal. Hence these are efficiently addressed by the culture general approach. Behaviors which deal with the roles and values of the host culture are more likely to be unique; hence, best trained using culture specific assimilators. An implication from this formulation is that for brief sojourns (less than a month or so), the culture general assimilator will suffice. For more extensive sojourns (particularly those that include spouses and other members of the family) the culture specific assimilator will be most useful. A further implication is that for the long sojourns, the two types of assimilators should be used in tandem with the culture general being applied predeparture and the culture specific used once the person has begun to be settled in the host country.

Implications for the military. There are two implications that can be discussed under this rubric. First, the military constantly faces the issue of how best to socialize minority group members into the culture of the military. Attempts have been made (e.g., Landis, Day, McGrew, Thomas, & Miller, 1976) to develop assimilators for Army leaders in dealing with minority enlisted personnel. It is certainly politically more acceptable to provide training programs for majority persons in positions of authority. However, if we consider the military to represent a culture which reflects primarily majority norms and if those norms are unlikely to change significantly, then techniques are needed to aid minorities to assimilate those norms. By “assimilate” I do not mean destroy or forget indigenous norms of behavior, thought, and attitudes. Rather, we would point to the extensive literature suggesting that as a result of assimilator training an expansion of the trainee’s subjective culture (Triandis et al., 1972) occurs.

The second implication comes from the need to train servicepeople to interact positively with non-American nationals that they meet in the prosecution of their assigned duties. Present intercultural training in the military is minimal at best. One can speculate that military doctrine is that servicepeople serving overseas need have only fleeting contact with host nationals. Such contact is justified on the basis that assignments overseas are generally short and focus on technical aspects largely achievable without extensive involvement of non-military personnel. This is unlikely to be the case for many overseas deployments as we move more and more into limited actions around the world. We have evidence that the failure to provide effective cross-cultural training can have disastrous results.

Issue 6: The need for reality-based assessments of cross-cultural training effectiveness

Kealey and Protheroe (1996) reviewed the state of assessing cross-cultural training and came to the conclusion that it is “...seriously deficient” (p. 159). They suggested that a “reliable” study of the impacts of expatriate training would need to include, at a minimum, the following five criteria:

1. A comparison between trained and untrained groups which have been matched on most important criteria.
2. Pre- and post-knowledge measures of change in both cognitive and behavioral competencies
3. Random assignment of subjects to trained and untrained groups
4. longitudinal measures of subsequent performance on the job lasting fairly long periods of time.
5. Impact measures which are more objective than self-reports of the trainees, including peer, supervisor, and host national assessments.

To these, I would add:

6. The sequential and interactive effects of multiple training techniques should be assessed.

The optimum evaluation design is one that compares training approaches against one another. This has rarely been done because of the difficulty of selecting comparable treatments and groups. Three studies, however, have attempted such a design (Pruegger et al., 1994; Landis et al., 1985; Harrison, 1992). Of the three studies, only the Landis et al. (1985) used a design in which the sequential effects of two training approaches could be assessed. In this study, groups were formed which engaged in culture assimilator and/or role play training in a black-white situation. The culture assimilator was either presented alone, before the role playing or after the role playing. The role playing was similarly presented with regard to the assimilator. A control group which received no training was also used. This modified Solomon four-group design was used to study the interactive effects of the two types of training. Results gave support to the notion that a culture awareness approach (the assimilator) worked best when it preceded an experiential technique since it appeared to reduce what W. Stephan and C. Stephan (1985) have called “intergroup anxiety.”

The Pruegger et al. (1994) study compared the simulation game, Bafa Bafa, with a lecture-based cognitive presentation. The treatments were not compared within but rather between groups, in contrast to the Landis et al. (1985) study. Results indicated that the two treatments did not differ when they were compared on a quantitative measure--the Cross-cultural Sensitivity Scale (CCSS), which was administered some two months later. A personal 3-page document was also prepared by each subject and submitted after the posttest CCSS was administered. This document was subjected to content analysis, with the experiential group showing significant attitude change appearing on both the experiential and lecture groups. This study is interesting because of its use of rigorous evaluation methods, a relatively long follow-up data gathering, and the finding that when objective measures are used neither technique produced changes, but that the participants reported significant subjective changes. In other words, the self-perception of the participants had changed, but their actual attitudes had not. This apparently paradoxical result begs further investigation since it does bear on the how we measure the effectiveness of our training activities.

After reviewing much of the literature on cross-cultural training effectiveness, the authors concluded that few, if any, studies meet all of the criteria. The two studies that came closest to meeting the criteria (Sorcher & Spence, 1982; Landis, Brislin & Hulgus, 1985) were focused on domestic intergroup relations and may, therefore, be of doubtful application to the expatriate setting. Kealey and Protheroe went on to describe an “ideal” study which, at the time of writing, appeared likely to be implemented by the Canadian government. Unfortunately, such implementation has turned out not to be the case. Two reasons for this reluctance to carry out, or even approximate, the study design may be given. First, there exists considerable cynicism among the foreign service establishment about the value of cross-cultural training and, second, paradoxically, there exists considerable fear among training professionals that proper evaluation might show that the foreign service professionals have been correct all along. These two reasons result in decisions by government officials not to invest the necessary funds and human capital in evaluations and a willingness of training professionals to accede to those decisions. Despite this gloomy assessment, the need for good evaluations will continue to be what my mentor, Charlie Solley called a “Socratic gadfly” (Solley & Murphy, 1960) ever buzzing around our ears and demanding that we assess what it is that we do.

Implications for the military. The evaluation of military equal opportunity training virtually ceased by the late 1970s as a serious scientific enterprise (Thomas, 1988). The result has been little change in the doctrine governing such training. In response to this need, Johnson (1995, 1996) developed a plan for evaluating the training at DEOMI; comparable plans could and should be developed for the training in Europe and elsewhere. The criteria outlined above for the evaluation of intercultural training programs can be equally applied equal opportunity/race-relations training.

Issue 7: Is re-entry different or the same as entry?

In general, trainers and their organizations tend to lose interest in expatriates once they leave their home country. Rarely are they followed when they return. Over the past few years there have been a spate of researches focused on reentry problems (Martin & Harrell, 1996; Gama & Pedersen, 1977; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). Generally, these studies report that: 1) younger returnees face more readaptation than older sojourners; 2) females have more difficulty readapting than males, particularly those who have sojourned in countries with more liberal gender attitudes than their home settings; 3) religion appears to affect readaptation though few studies have looked at this variable; and 4) previous intercultural experience is thought to be a predictor (Adler, 1981), but there have been no reported empirical studies to verify this claim. There are also many other variables that require empirical investigation: social class, personality characteristics, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

Implications for the military. The military has certainly done a better job of aiding reentry than it has entry. This is accomplished mainly through the buddy or mentor system. In this system, a person inbound to a new post or base is assigned a local contact whose job it is to help the new assignee navigate all of the problems attendant upon settling in a new locale. In effect, the system provides a ready-made support system. I suspect the system works best when the family of the serviceperson comes from an American background. When the family is of mixed background (e.g., when the spouse is Asian), the system may work less efficiently. In this case the spouse may be entering a new culture for the first time, while the serviceperson is returning to his or her home culture. The needs of the spouse may be different from those of the servicemember. So, while the spouse may need cross-cultural training, the serviceperson may need only to reacquaint him/herself with the ways in which everyday tasks are accomplished. The cross-cultural needs of the returning family are often placed in the hands of some sort of family services agency or the Chaplain. Some more structured training may be necessary and desirable.

Issue 8: Shift to more of an interdisciplinary focus in the development of models of intercultural relations

Intercultural research traditionally has been dominated by two disciplines: psychology and communications. An individualistic point-of-view has dominated versions of these disciplines that we have found most congenial. Some (e.g., Anderson, 1994) have found the basis of cross-cultural adaptation in well known and researched psychological mechanisms. Others (e.g., Gudykunst, 1985) have introduced terms (e.g., uncertainty reduction) which are clearly psychological in nature. Still others (e.g., Landis & Bhagat, 1996) have used models which give

rather brief attention to macro-level variables in determining a person's adaptation to a new culture. While these models and theories have the comfort of familiarity, it is uncertain that they ultimately provide solutions to such questions as the authenticity of intercultural communication or how to resolve the apparently intractable intergroup problems when conflict is based on long standing religious or cultural differences. Sociological and political theorists are clamoring to be heard (e.g., Lustick, 1996) and they may have approaches that we can incorporate into our models.

Implications for the military. Within the military the domination of cross-cultural and equal opportunity training has been by variations of pedagogy, while most of the serious work in cross-cultural training has occurred in psychology and communication. This state of affairs is a puzzle and I suspect it deprives the military of the best thinking in the field. The rich skein of programs and theories derived out of the contact hypothesis could be brought to bear on the intercultural issues which are of interest in the military.

Issues Involving Content and Technique

Issue 9: Expansion of definition of "culture group"

Traditionally, culture has been correlated with either national boundaries or visible characteristics (e.g., gender or skin color). Indeed, our field started when scholars began to traverse national boundaries in the search for knowledge or cultural artifacts. It has only been since certain political acts have occurred that intra-national subgroups have been considered to be distinct cultures. Now, few would dispute that not only do such groups as Pacific Islanders represent different cultures from those located in North America but that groups such as African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, etc., also form separate cultures. Whether women also form a separate culture is still a matter of considerable debate (despite the pseudo-scientific assertions of writers such as John Gray). However, there is a constant pressure to enlarge the definition of "culture" so as to include previously excluded groups. Recently, the deaf and gay groups have been suggested to form distinct cultures from the mainstream American society (Siple, 1994; Ross, Fernandez-Esquer, & Seibt, 1996). I suspect that other writers will attempt to apply some criteria (e.g., Porter & Somovar's 1988 model of culture and communication) to bring other groups into the "culture fold." I suspect also that as these attempts are made, the definitions of culture will change. The fear is that they may change beyond all recognition and then cease to have any explanatory power at all.

A second issue concerns the identification of culture with national boundary. Paradoxically, this has been exacerbated by the success of the Hofstede individualism-collectivism contribution. Triandis (1994b), among others, has warned us about committing the "ecological fallacy"; that is, using culture-level concepts to interpret individual behavior. Triandis has used the terms *idiocentric* and *allocentric* to describe individual differences within a cultural trait. As these considerations become more prevalent among researchers, we will see more care in defining the characteristics of research samples.

Implications for the military. The military has largely confined its identification of ethnic groups to those officially named in various civil rights laws and in the applicable Department of Defense directives. So, most samples are described as Asian-Americans, Hispanics, Blacks, Whites, Native Americans, and others. With recent changes in the designations used by the Census Bureau and the fact that many servicepeople are members of mixed race families, the old designations would seem to be ripe for a change. Furthermore as the trend toward privatization of military functions proceeds, the military may come more and more under other portions of the civil rights laws: those affecting people with disabilities and those of differing sexual orientations. While some of these groups may never perform some uniquely military functions (e.g., being in front-line combat), they will perform, and are already performing, functions once the exclusive purview of the armed forces and in some cases in dangerous locations (e.g., in Bosnia).

Issue 10: Issues of sexuality in cross-cultural communication are coming under scrutiny

Some of the earliest recorded cross-cultural interactions involved sexual contact. Alexander the Great mandated that his soldiers should marry women from the conquered countries, thus cementing control from Greece. While the Greek wives left behind were not terribly thrilled by this policy, it is one that has been followed by conquerors throughout the ages. As people travel across national boundaries contact beyond the merely verbal is bound to occur. Some of these result in marriage, many more do not.

Cross-cultural training and research tends to avoid sexuality issues. Why that is so is understandable. These are issues that many of us feel uncomfortable discussing or which we feel belong within that sphere of privacy that we want to accord others. Some of us may even feel that to discuss such issues borders on the unethical. However, foreign students report that these issues are among the most bothersome and which their advisors are reluctant to discuss.

Beyond the training research issues are the problems of doing research on sexual issues in countries where the standards of such work are quite different from those in Western countries. Goldman (1994) has illustrated these difficulties in a cross-national study of children's sexual cognitions. This author notes that as a result of her study, three lessons can be drawn:

1) "...paradigms assumed to be common to countries roughly comparable in social characteristics may not be suitable due to many other intervening variables, particularly cultural factors, especially relating to sexuality"

2) "...all cultures restrict in different ways access to information about its population's sexuality..."

3) "...politicians, especially those responsible for education, local school boards, superintendents, and teachers play a strong role in this cultural restriction."

(Goldman, 1994, p.22-23)

In training we often avoid discussions of "sensitive" topics that may make some members of the group uncomfortable and there are certainly ethical reasons to be cautious here (Paige & Martin, 1996). Nevertheless, when the discussion may save avoid embarrassing situations in-country, it may be worthwhile to take the risk. In any case, research on how to introduce and

manage topics involving sexuality would seem to be a necessary addition to our corpus of knowledge.

Implications for the military. Perhaps no other issue has galvanized public awareness more than the issue of sexual conduct in the military setting. While there is a certain amount of prurient interest in the public following of the sexual exploits of people in uniform, the issue cannot be dismissed so lightly. The spectacle of training personnel taking sexual advantage of trainees shocks and disgusts most of us. Yet at the same time, that emotional reaction should not prevent a rational analysis of the situation. That analysis should start with a recognition that there are really two situations here: the case of superior/subordinate sexual interaction and the case of peer sexual interaction. Cutting across these two categories is the issue of consensuality. The waters are further muddled by the criminalization in the Uniform Code of Military Justice of sexual behavior by married servicepeople with non-spousal individuals. In the public consciousness all of those types of sexual behavior have become merged and fall under the category of “prohibited behaviors.” Moskos, at this symposium, suggests that all sexual contact in the military be prohibited. Short of draconian measures, this is a bit like forbidding the tide to roll in; the last person who was successful at that task was Moses and even he had to have some help. Furthermore, blanket prohibitions ignore the dynamic that may occur when people are placed in situations where propinquity, presumed attitude similarity, acceptance of a common goal, and power all intersect. As many years of social psychological studies have taught us, such situations (be they in a university research laboratory or in Advanced Individual Training) are the petri dish in which attraction, on the part of both parties, grows and flourishes. Since sexual contact between military people is unlikely to cease, any policy must recognize the reality of human (and therefore sexual) beings operating in work situations. I suspect that this issue will be one that will occupy more and more policy makers in the years ahead as the military becomes more and more gender integrated.

Issue 11: What is the impact on the spouse of the international assignment?

In a recent paper, de Verthelyi (1995) lamented the lack of research on the adaptation of the spouses of international students. These are the “invisible” people in sojourner research. When spouses do appear, it is in terms of their impact on the international student or expatriate manager (Black & Gregersen, 1991). Indeed, the de Verthelyi study is the only one, to my knowledge, which deals with the spouse as a sojourner in his or her own right. Although the sample in de Verthelyi study was quite small, restricting her to a qualitative methodology, it is clear that the spouse suffers more from adaptation problems than does the sojourner in most cases. The level of adaptation seems to be related to the following events: 1) simultaneous or separate arrival in the country, 2) relocating from another campus or location, 3) lack of purposeful activity, 4) loss of professional identity, 5) difficulty with language barrier, 6) living on a tight budget, 7) missing family and friends, and 8) lack of use of what programs and services are available. Research on programs directed at spouses to ameliorate these problems is sorely needed. Unfortunately, such research is probably not high on the priorities of funding agencies.

Implications for the military. The military family is given great deference in public pronouncements. There seems to be general recognition that the success of the married

serviceperson is partly dependent on the role of the spouse. Why else would the spouse be given a prominent role at retirement ceremonies? But, if the training of the serviceperson to function in an intercultural environment is minimal, the support given the spouse is even less. Given what we know about the role of the spouse in such settings, it is to be expected that difficulties will occur in the assignment. One can wonder if the difficulty being experienced in retention of field level officers has to do with the satisfaction of spouses or their servicemember's satisfaction in the job. Perhaps also the increasing importance of family satisfaction has to do with the change of military career from a calling (institutional model) to a job (occupational model) as Moskos has described.

Issue 12: The ethics of intercultural training and practice remains an unresolved issue

In both editions of the *Handbook of intercultural training* (Landis & Brislin, 1983; Landis & Bhagat, 1996), Michael Paige and Judith Martin wrote chapters on the need for considering ethical issues in training. They based their exposition on the proposition "...that intercultural training is an inherently transformative form of education, for learners and trainers alike." (Paige & Martin, 1996, p.35). They defined three questions that served as the structure for their discussions: 1) "What are the ethical dilemmas facing intercultural trainers?" 2) "What does ethical conduct mean for interculturalists?" and 3) "What is the role of professional organizations in promoting ethical conduct?" They make many recommendations for the behavior of ethical trainers. For researchers, the question is what is the harm or benefit to occur from being ethical or unethical? A related question comes from the conflict that occurs between the ethical norms of the trainer's home country and the country for which he/she is training sojourners. How do trainers handle such conflict, and what are the effects on the trainers and trainees from the various attempts to deal with the conflicts? The research is lacking on these issues and is necessary if the discussion of ethics is to move beyond philosophical imperatives to a resolution based on solid and verifiable foundations.

Implications for the military. Equal opportunity training is no less a transformative experience than cross-cultural training. As such it can have profound impact on the emotional and educational state of the trainee. Even though the serviceperson who is to be an equal opportunity advisor accepts that role more or less willingly, more attention needs to be given to determine if the candidate has the psychological wherewithal to profit from the training. At the present time, the training institutes are left with accepting whomever the services decide to send. While rejection can occur, it is rare. Goals are set by doctrine with little consideration given to whether or not the goals are attainable for a particular individual.

And, if the ethical issues are given short shrift at the training of the trainer level, they are awarded even less attention at the field level. Trainers are given little instruction on the ethics of the activities that they are expected to perform at the local level. Hence, since raising ethical questions is likely to produce discomfort and may even have career implications, such issues are not addressed.

Issue 13: Previously under researched areas of the world need to come under study

Probably a good 75% of the studies published over the past two decades have dealt with three areas of the world: the United States, Israel, and Japan. This phenomenon reflects the geographical distribution of researchers and the interests of funding agencies. While those locales remain important, other nationalities are likely to become important as the result of geopolitical events. We are beginning to see research dealing with Europe (particularly the former Soviet bloc), Africa (particularly South Africa, now that apartheid is a thing of the past), South and Central America (as a result of the North American Free Trade Association) and mainland China (the largest market in the world). Initially, I would expect that many of the studies focusing on these countries will fall prey to the “ecological fallacy.” But, as researchers working in those locales become more common, more sophisticated analyses will be forthcoming.

Issue 14: Do almost all overseas managers really fail?

It has become rather traditional to start off a paper, or workshop, on expatriate manager success (or lack thereof) to assert that most such assignments are failures. While this undoubtedly gets the attention of editors and potential sponsors, it is apparently a figure built on a rather nebulous base. Harzing (1995)⁶⁰ has traced almost all such assertions back to a single article by Rosalie Tung (1981) which has been wildly misquoted as giving failure rates of around 40% for American firms (actually, her report suggests that only 7% of American firms had recall rates between 20 and 40%). It is apparent that most writers have been content to cite either Tung or one of the many other writers who cite her. In any case, some really serious research needs to be done to deal empirically with this interesting issue.

Implications for the military. One of the problems with the Tung research is that failure is very hard to define. As Anderson (1994) noted there are many ways that supervisors can perform at less than optimum levels. This is no less true in the military. The military has spent many years and untold dollars on trying to predict and identify sub-optimal performance in leaders without a lot of success. The well known inflation in the various versions of fitness reports only compound the problem. When it comes to providing leadership in equal opportunity issues, the problem becomes even more murky. The best that the military has been able to come up with is adding a check mark to the fitness reports with the inevitable result: nobody scores below a perfect mark unless they clearly fail. Further, when considering success in an overseas environment, one that requires considerable cross-cultural skills, there are no “tick” marks on the evaluation forms. This is one domain where civilian organizations seem to be more aware of the pertinent issues than is the military. Many civilian corporations spend significant funds identifying and then training managers to take up overseas posts. Technical competence is only part of the criteria for selection. Openness to cultural differences and ways of doing business are even more important. Contrast this with the military process: technical competence is the only criterion. And yet, a career may be built on success in the overseas assignment--failure may mean the premature end of that career. We can certainly do better in selecting and training leaders to function overseas.

⁶⁰ I am indebted to Geert Hofstede for calling my attention to this interesting and important paper.

Issue 15: Do diversity and intercultural training have the same outcomes?

The aim of much diversity training is to reduce or remove the boundaries between the in- and out-groups (i.e., to “decategorize”). Hence, the out-group becomes part of the in-group. Intercultural training, on the other hand, is often directed to decategorizing within the training situation (i.e., perceiving the “others” in the situation as individuals) leaving members of the out-group who do not have the same characteristics as those in the training situation still outside the boundaries. Those out-group persons will still be seen as homogeneous. In this case there would be a reintroduction of the stereotype with the only change that some people formerly included in the category would now be outside of it. Indeed, some theories would predict an increase in the impermeability of the in-group/out-group boundaries. This is not a finding that would hold much comfort for intercultural trainers, and there certainly needs to be research directed at explicating the conditions under which such negative results could occur.

Concluding Remarks

The fifteen issues described above are neither exhaustive nor exclusive. They are a selection of what this writer considers to be the foci of much research in the future. There are certainly others and I do not mean to stifle any researcher’s work. This is truly an enterprise in which we should see “a thousand flowers bloom.” Having made a plea for diversity, I now make a overture for more care, focus, and theoretical foundation in intercultural research. In general the era of pushing here and probing there just to see the reaction is wasteful of time and resources. The time in which we use convenience samples, available because the researcher happens to be located in a particular country, should be at an end. Rather, samples should be selected because they enable testing of some theoretical proposition. Failing such carefully drawn research, this field will never attain respectability. Without respectability, we can provide no direction to the design and implementation of intercultural training. The past twenty years has been prologue; the next twenty should bring real and solid achievements based on the prologue. The making of those achievements will belie the cynicism that abounds in government circles as to the efficacy of intercultural training. This will truly be an exciting time.

References

- Adler, N. (1981). Reentry: Managing cross-cultural transitions. *Group and organization studies*, 6(3), 341-356.
- Albert, R. (1996). A framework and model for understanding Latin American and Latino/Hispanic cultural patterns. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.) *Handbook of intercultural training*. Thousand Oaks: Sage. (327-349).
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Anderson, L. (1994). A new look at an old construct: Cross-cultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 293-328.

- Bartle, S., McIntyre, R., Landis, D., & Dansby, M. (1997). *The effects of equal opportunity climate on job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work group effectiveness*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Berry, J. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An international review*, 46, 5-34.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). *Evolution of culture assimilators: Toward theory-based assimilators*. Unpublished manuscript, Honolulu, HI: College of Business, University of Hawaii.
- Black, J., & Gregersen, H. (1991). The other half of the picture: Antecedents of spouse cross-cultural adjustment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 3, 461-477.
- Blanchard, F., Lilly, T., & Vaughn, L. (1991). Reducing the expression of racial prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 2, 101-105.
- Brewer, M. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 17, 475-482.
- Brewer, M. (1996). When contact is not enough: Social identity and intergroup cooperation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 291-303.
- Brislin, R. (1980). Translation and content analysis of oral and written materials. In H. Triandis & J. Berry (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 2--Methodology*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc. (389-444).
- Brislin, R., Cushner, K., Cherrie, & Yong, M. (1986). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Brislin, R., Landis, D., & Brandt, M. (1983). Conceptualizations of intercultural behavior and training. In D. Landis & R. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training. Vol. I*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon. (p. 1-35).
- Buriel, R. (1975). Cognitive styles among three generations of Mexican-American children. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 6, 417-429.
- Cushner, K., & Brislin, R. (1996). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide (2nd. ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cushner, K., & Landis, D. (1996). The intercultural sensitizer. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training (2nd. ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dawson, E., Crano, W., & Burgoon, M. (1996). Refining the meaning and measurement of acculturation: Revisiting a novel methodological approach. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 97-114.

- de Verthelyi, R. (1995). International students' spouses: Invisible sojourners in the culture shock literature. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19, 387-412.
- Dunbar, E. (1997). The personal dimensions of difference scale: Measuring multi-group identity with four ethnic groups. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21, 1-28.
- Gaertner, S., Dovidio, J., & Bachman, B. (1996). Revisiting the contact hypothesis: The induction of a common in-group identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 271-290.
- Gama, E., & Pedersen, P. (1977). Readjustment problems of Brazilian returnees from graduate studies in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1, 46-58.
- Goldman, D. (1994). Some methodological problems in planning, executing and validating cross-national study of children's sexual cognition. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 1-28.
- Gudykunst, W. (1985). A model of uncertainty reduction in intercultural encounters. *Language and Social Psychology*, 2, 79-98.
- Gullahorn, J. T., & Gullahorn, J. E. (1963). An extension of the U-curve hypothesis. *Journal of Social Issues*, 14, 33-47.
- Hampden-Turner, C., & Trompenaars, F. (1997). Response to Geert Hofstede. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21, 149-159.
- Harrison, J. K. (1992). Individual and combined effects of behavior modeling and the cultural assimilator in cross-cultural management training. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 952-962.
- Harzing, A. (1995). The persistent myth of high expatriate failure rates. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 6, 457-474.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (1996). Riding the waves of commerce: A test of Trompenaars' "model" of national culture differences. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 189-198.
- Hofstede, G. (1997). Riding the waves: A rejoinder. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21, 287-290.

- Horenczyk, G., & Bekerman, Z. (1997). The effects of intercultural acquaintance and structured intergroup interactions on in-group, out-group, and reflected in-group stereotypes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 21, 71-83.
- Johnson, J. L. (1995). *A preliminary investigation into DEOMI training effectiveness* (DEOMI Report #RSP 95-8). Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Johnson, J. L. (1996). *Local and global effects of DEOMI training* (DEOMI Report #RSP 96-7). Patrick AFB, FL: Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S., & Yoon, G. (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Landis, D., & Bhagat, R. (1996). A model of intercultural behavior and training. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (p.1-16).
- Landis, D., & Bhagat, R. (Eds.). (1996). *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: 1996.
- Landis, D., & Brislin, R. (Eds.). (1983). *Handbook of intercultural training* (3 vols.). Elmsford, NY: Pergamon.
- Landis, D., Brislin, R., & Huglus, J. (1985). Attributional training versus contact in acculturative learning: A laboratory study. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 15, 466-482.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M., & Tallarigo, R. (1996). The use of equal opportunity climate in intercultural training. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Landis, D., Day, H., McGrew, P., Thomas, J., & Miller, A. (1976). Can a black "culture assimilator" increase racial understanding? *Journal of Social Issues*, 31, 169-183.
- Lustick, I. (1996). Hegemonic beliefs and territorial rights. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 479-492.
- Martin, J., & Harrell, T. (1996). Reentry training for intercultural sojourners. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.). *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Paige, R., & Martin, J. (1996). Ethics in intercultural training. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.) *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Porter, R., & Somovar, L. (1988). Approaching intercultural communication. In L. Somovar & R. Porter (Eds.). *Intercultural communication: A reader*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

- Pruegger, V., & Rogers, T. (1994). Cross-cultural sensitivity training: Methods and assessment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 369-387.
- Rich, Y., Kedeem, P., & Schlesinger, A. (1995). Enhancing intergroup relations among children: A field test of the Miller-Brewer Model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19, 539-554.
- Ross, M., Fernandez-Esquer, M., & Seibt, A. (1996). Understanding across the sexual orientation gap: Sexuality as Culture. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd. ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ruggiero, K., Taylor, D., & Lambert, W. (1996). A model of heritage culture maintenance: The role of discrimination. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 47-67.
- Schwarzwald, J., & Yinor, Y. (1977). Symmetrical and asymmetrical interethnic perception in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1(1), 40-47.
- Sherif, M. (1979). Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict: An experimental evaluation. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Shuter, R. (1977). Cross-cultural small group research: A review, an analysis, and a theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1(1), 90-104.
- Siple, L. (1994). Cultural patterns of deaf people. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 345-367.
- Smith, E. R., & Branscombe, N. R. (1984). *Stereotype traits can be processed automatically*. (Technical Report TR-ONR-3). Department of Psychological Sciences, Purdue University: West Lafayette, Indiana.
- Solley, C., & Murphy, G. (1960). *Development of the perceptual world*. New York: Basic Books.
- Sorcher, M., & Spence, R. (1982). The interface project: Behavior modeling as social technology in South Africa. *Personnel Psychology*, 35, 557-581.
- Stephan, W., & Stephan, C. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41, 157-176.
- Tolbert, A., & McLean, G. (1995). Venezuelan culture assimilator for training United States professionals conducting business in Venezuela. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19, 111-125.

- Thomas, J. (1988). *Race relations research in the U.S. Army in the 1970s: A collection of selected readings*. Arlington, VA: United States Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences.
- Triandis, H. (1994a). Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism and individualism. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Triandis, H. (1994b). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Triandis, H., Vassiliou, V., Vassiliou, G., & Tanaka, Y. (1972). *The analysis of subjective culture*. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Trompenaars, F. (1993). *Riding the waves of culture: Understanding cultural diversity in business*. London: The Economist Books.
- Tung, R. (1981). Selection and training of personnel for overseas assignments. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 15, 68-78.
- Tzeng, O., & Jackson, J. (1994). Effects of contact, conflict, and social identity on interethnic group hostilities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 18, 259-276.
- Wink, P. (1997). Beyond ethnic differences: Contextualizing the influence of ethnicity on individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 53, 329-350.
- Winslow, D. (1997). *The Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia: A socio-cultural inquiry*. Ottawa, Canada: Minister of Public Works and Government Services.
- Wood, P., & Sonleitner, N. (1996). The effect of childhood interracial contact on adult antiblack prejudice. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 1-17.

Panel Session 3

EO Climate Measurement Outside the U.S. Military:
Issues of Validity⁶¹

Chair: Dan Landis
University of Mississippi

Discussant: Paul Rosenfeld
Navy Personnel Research and Development Center

Diversity and Equity in the Canadian Forces

J. W. Berry & Rudolf Kalin
Queen's University, Canada

Abstract

Canadian society is officially multicultural, and its Constitution establishes cultural diversity as one of its fundamental characteristics. Policies and programs to implement this orientation to diversity apply to all institutions and individuals, including those in the military. In order to understand the current views, and as a basis for promoting and evaluating change towards diversity and equity, a survey was conducted of Regular Force (N = 2558) and Reserve Force (N = 931) members. Results indicated that, in general, Regular Force members are accepting of diversity and equity, but less so than non-military samples in Canada; Reserve Force members generally fall in between. Morale was generally high in both Regular and Reserve samples, and the climate for equity was perceived to be rather positive. However, there were important variations by gender and ethnic origin (English/French) in these views, with female and English-speaking respondents being more positive with respect to accepting diversity and equity. Implications of these findings for changing both the Canadian Forces as an institution, and its individual members are discussed.

Cultural diversity is a feature of contemporary societies everywhere; Canada is certainly no exception. Indeed, Canada has explicitly recognized this fact of life, and has taken the bold step to celebrate and promote its diversity, rather than seek to reduce it. This “diversity imperative” affects all aspects of life in Canada, from public policy and programs, to its institutions and the daily lives of members of all ethnocultural groups. As national policy, Canada

⁶¹ The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent the official views of the DoD or any of its agencies.

has recognized its diversity in its Constitution, and in various Acts of Parliament (including the Multiculturalism and Employment Equity Acts). An important issue is how institutions and individuals will change to meet this challenge (Berry, 1984).

Research in culturally plural societies clearly shows that, among the various ways to deal with this diversity, attempts at assimilation or segregation do not work. Instead, a process of mutual accommodation, in which both individuals and institutions change to meet the evolving needs of a society's changing population, is the most effective course of action. Such a process of integration seeks to avoid the enforced cultural absorption of assimilation or the exclusion of segregation: rather, the maintenance and sharing of cultures provides the two elements necessary to pursue and achieve the acceptance of diversity and of equity (Berry, 1997a). In short, Canada has opted for a "mosaic" of diverse cultural components, in which all are to find an equitable place, rather than a "melting pot," in which cultural components disappear.

This national multicultural goal requires change, at both the institutional and personal levels. Institutions that remain unchanged, to which individuals are required to adapt, do not fit this national ideology. The challenge for the Canadian Forces (CF) is to match this ideology by a process of institutional change, and by incorporating the peoples, and the values and backgrounds of the population it serves, while still being able to meet its operational goals. Accompanying such institutional changes will be changes in the attitudes, values and behaviors of those already within the CF; there should also be a willingness on the part of those entering the CF to adopt those attitudes, values and behaviors that are essential for operational effectiveness.

The CF has clearly subscribed to the "diversity imperative," in its policy directives, and by its acceptance of national legislation that applies to all Canadian institutions and individuals. Despite this policy acceptance of diversity and equity, there are some features of military institutions that may serve as an impediment to change towards the full acceptance of diversity and equity in the institution. First, ethnocentrism (the universal tendency to divide people into "us" and "them," followed by their differential evaluation as "us good," "them bad") has been a view essential to survival in conflict and combat situations. Second, and related, is the orientation to authority and its use in hierarchical social arrangements (usually referred to as authoritarianism). Given the essence of military institutions, support for authority is likely to be relatively high. Unfortunately, there is an established relationship between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism: those high on authoritarianism tend to be also high on ethnocentrism (i.e., low on acceptance of diversity and equity). While not insurmountable, these two features may well pose special difficulties for achieving change in the CF.

The process of acculturation is one that takes place when peoples of different cultural backgrounds come into contact with each other over periods of time (Berry, 1997b; Ward, 1996). Usually one group is dominant, and tends to expect most (even all) of the change on the part of the non-dominant group. This process is taking place internationally, nationally within Canada, and now within its institutions. With respect to the CF, various policies and programs (gender, Aboriginal, employment equity, official language) have accelerated this process, and have exposed the institution and its members to stresses and strains that they may be unprepared to deal with. This is due to the usual difficulties people experience during acculturation, but perhaps aggravated

by the two special features (ethnocentrism and authoritarianism) of the CF institutional culture noted above.

Successful management of change during such acculturation is now reasonably well understood by social and behavioral science. A key requirement is to pursue both institutional and personal changes simultaneously, so that core institutional features (policies, programs, leadership, recruitment, training, and promotion) are consistent with, and support change in, programs that focus on the values, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals. Other key principles are: if change towards increased diversity and equity is to succeed, CF operations cannot be in conflict with the international, national, or institutional diversity with which they deal; the distribution of CF personnel should closely resemble the Canadian population it serves; no person should be recruited who exhibits, nor should any recruit be exposed to training that promotes or increases intolerance, or reduces respect for diversity and equity; and any convention or tradition that reduces the value of diversity, or the acceptance of people of diverse origin, should be changed or eliminated. Perhaps the most important principle is that of mutual accommodation to achieve integration among the various groups and interests; no one can afford to be dominant, nor can they afford to be dominated during the process of change.

Some stress and reaction to change is inevitable; but attempts to dominate and control the change process to the advantage of one group, or according to one way of thinking, will exacerbate these problems. Individuals, at all levels, will require leadership, training and support, if there is to be increased acceptance and practice of diversity and equity within the CF.

Canadian Context for Diversity and Equity

As we have noted, Canada is officially multicultural: there is a policy and a set of programs that are designed to achieve diversity and equity in society generally, and in its institutions. The Multiculturalism Act (1988) is explicitly linked to a number of extant features of Canadian policy: the constitutional recognition of the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians, of the rights of Aboriginal peoples of Canada, and of two official languages in Canada; the equality of all Canadians, whether so by birth or by choice; the equality of opportunity, regardless of race, national or ethnic origin, or color; freedom from discrimination based on culture, religion, or language; and the recognition of the diversity of Canadians as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.

The specific clauses of the Act refer to a number of themes. Foremost among them are: a) the promotion of the freedom of all Canadians to “preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage”; b) the promotion of multiculturalism as “a fundamental characteristic of Canadian heritage and identity,” and as an “invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future”; c) the promotion of “full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins,” and the “elimination of barriers to such participation”; d) the recognition of the contribution of Canadian cultural communities, and to “enhance their development”; e) ensuring “individuals equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity”; and f) encouraging Canadian institutions to be “both respectful and inclusive of Canada’s multicultural character.”

Other themes emphasize the creativity and evolution that result from cultures in contact, and the importance of the various heritages, and of both official languages in Canada.

In addition to these initiative to preserve and enhance cultural diversity, there are also initiatives to promote Employment Equity. Legislation in this area is complex, and applies to all corporations and institutions that have contracts with the Federal Government (such as suppliers and Universities).

Canadian Forces Orientation to Diversity and Equity

In 1995, the Employment Equity Act was applied to the CF, which responded by creating the Canadian Forces Diversity Office, and establishing (in 1993) four equity principles:

1. The CF endorses a pro-active, purposeful recruiting program which includes attracting candidates of both genders from diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds who meet all prescribed recruiting standards.
2. The CF provides equitable opportunities to all serving members for training and development to enhance their abilities.
3. The CF is committed to the elimination, to the maximum extent possible, of any policy or practice that results in arbitrary barriers to the advancement, promotion and retention of all its members.
4. The CF promotes awareness, understanding and acceptance of all ethno-cultural groups with a view to enhancing their contribution to the operational effectiveness of the CF.

Various reasons for moving toward greater equity were articulated by the CF in 1996. These included: “the ethical/political imperative that the composition of any military must reflect the population it serves; the recognition that, in order to attract and retain the best possible quality members, the CF must draw from all sectors of society; the responsibility of the CF as employer to provide a fair and equitable workplace that recognizes and rewards the accomplishments of all members while providing meaningful employment and career development; and the requirement to meet legislative directions and, underlying these, the current societal values regarding the removal of barriers which impede the full employment of all members of society with special interest regarding women, Aboriginal Peoples, and visible minorities.”

Before attempting to bring about change towards increased diversity and equity, the CF concluded that two kinds of projects needed to be carried out. First was a “Conceptual Framework” that examines the issues, and identifies goals, processes, resources (and impediments) involved in achieving diversity and equity. Second, there was a need for a “Baseline Study” of the attitudes and beliefs about diversity and equity in the Regular and Reserve Forces.

The first project serves to frame the overall change program, while the second documents the starting point against which change may be evaluated. This paper focuses largely on the results of the Baseline Study.

Baseline Study

There were four main topics addressed in this baseline survey: Demographic Characteristics, Personal and Military experiences, Attitudes and Opinions, and Ethnic Group Attitudes.

Demographic Characteristics included the usual biographical indicators plus information on ethnicity (origin, identity and language). Experiences included contact with other groups, exposure to the CF in childhood and experience of discrimination in the CF. Attitudes and Opinions included eleven scales dealing with multiculturalism, prejudice, employment equity, morale and organizational climate. Ethnic Group Attitudes sought information on how comfortable people are around people of specific cultural origins.

Demographic Variables. In more detail, demographic variables included such basic information as age, gender, education, rank, and language. In addition the respondent's ethnic origin and ethnic identity were requested, using questions similar to the 1991 census, and the 1991 Multicultural Attitude Study (MAS '91; Berry & Kalin, 1995).

Experiences. For personal and military experiences, questions were developed to assess a number of background factors that might affect one's attitudes and opinions about diversity. Some of these questions asked about contact with people of "a different cultural or racial background than yourself."

Experience of personal discrimination while performing one's duties in the last 12 months was asked, and whether a complaint was filed. If so, the number of times, and basis of the discrimination was sought (e.g., language, race, gender).

Attitudes and Opinions. There were eleven attitude and opinion scales. All scales were composed of items that were responded to on a 7-point scale (Disagree - Agree; Oppose - Support), with 4 being the theoretical mid-point of each scale.

1. Multicultural Ideology. This scale assesses support for having a culturally diverse society in Canada, in which ethnocultural groups maintain and share their cultures with others. There are ten items, with five in a negative direction (hence it is a balanced scale). Of these negative five items, two advocate "assimilation" ideology, one advocates "segregation," and two claim that diversity "weakens unity." Two examples are supporting or opposing the view that "Recognizing the cultural and racial diversity in a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society," and agreeing or disagreeing that "The unity of this country is weakened by Canadians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways" (Reversed). This scale is identical to the one employed in the Multicultural Attitude study of 1991 (MAS '91).

2. Tolerance. This scale is made up of nine items that assess one's willingness to accept individuals or groups that are culturally or racially different from oneself. There are four items phrased positively (i.e., indicating tolerance) and five items phrased negatively (i.e., indicating prejudice). Thus the scale is nearly balanced. A high score is indicative of tolerance. Two

examples are agreeing or disagreeing that “It is a bad idea for people of different races to marry one another”(R), and “Recent immigrants should have as much say about the future of Canada as people who were born and raised here.” This scale is identical to the one employed in the MAS '91.

3. Program Attitudes. This scale measures the degree of support vs. opposition to eight possible ways of “dealing with diversity.” All are phrased in a positive direction and so there may be an acquiescence response set problem. Two examples are supporting or opposing policies that “Eliminate racism in such areas as recruiting, posting and promotion,” and “Help new Canadians to acquire the knowledge and skills they need to integrate into the CF.” Although based on the MAS '91 scale of the same name, many items in this scale were rephrased to make them relevant to CF.

4. Perceived Consequences of Equity. This scale measures what people feel will happen as CF pursues equity policies. There are eleven items in the scale, made up of four positive and seven negative consequences. A high score indicates a perception of positive consequences. Two examples are agreeing or disagreeing that such policies would “Destroy our CF way of life” (R), and “Provide greater equality of opportunity for all groups in the CF.” This scale was based on a MAS '91 scale called “Perceived Consequences of Multiculturalism.” However, many items in this scale were rephrased and supplemented to make them relevant to the CF, and to its equity policies.

5. Authoritarianism. This scale assesses a person’s beliefs about social issues that reveal their degree of support for authority (Altmeyer, 1988). There are sixteen items in the scale, made up of eight positive and eight negative statements. A high score indicates high authoritarianism. Examples are agreeing or disagreeing with statements such as “Obedience and respect for authority and the most important virtues children should learn,” and “Everyone has a right to his/her own life-style, religious beliefs or disbeliefs and sexual preferences so long as it doesn’t hurt others” (R).

6. Justice Ideology measures people’s acceptance of social justice or fair play for all. There are twelve items, six positive and six negative. A high score indicates high acceptance of social justice. This scale taps into the principles underlying employment equity and other forms of equality. Examples are “Those who are well off in this country should help those who are less fortunate,” and “Anybody receiving welfare in this country should be made to work for the money they get” (R)” (See Rasinsky, 1987).

7. Just World Scale assesses the general belief that good people are rewarded and bad people are punished. There are fourteen items, eight positive, six negative. A high score indicates the belief that people get what they deserve out of life. That is, people get their just deserts, and people are the cause of their own misfortunes. Examples are “People who get ‘lucky breaks’ have usually earned their good fortune,” and “Good deeds often go unnoticed and unrewarded” (R). (See Rubin & Peplau, 1975)

8. MEOCS Work Scales. MEOCS refers to the “Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey” developed originally for use with the United States Armed Forces (see e.g., Landis, Dansby, & Faley, 1993). The CF study employed the LITE version of the Effectiveness, Commitment and Satisfaction scales, which essentially measure morale. Effectiveness has five items (all positive), Commitment has six items (five positive) and Satisfaction has five items (all positive). High scores indicate a high personal sense of Effectiveness, Commitment and Satisfaction. Examples are (for Effectiveness and Commitment respectively): agreement that “The quality of output of my work group is very high,” and “I would accept almost any type of assignment in order to stay in this workgroup”; and the degree of satisfaction with “My job as a whole.”

9. MEOCS Climate Scales. These five scales also come from the LITE version. High scores indicate perception of a positive equity climate within the CF. For each item, respondents indicate how likely an event is to take place with respect to a female, minority, or majority person. The Sexual Harassment scale has four items (all negative; e.g., “When a woman complains of sexual harassment to her superior, he tells her ‘you’re being too sensitive’”). The Negative Behavior scale has five items (all concerning discriminatory behaviors, e.g., “A minority person is assigned less desirable work/office space than a majority person”). The Positive Behavior scale has five items dealing with social relationships (all positive; e.g., “Majority and minority members are seen socializing together”). The Racism/Sexism scale has four items (all negative; e.g., “Offensive racial/ethnic names are frequently heard”). And the Reverse Discrimination scale has four items (all negative; e.g., “The person in charge does not appoint a qualified majority person to a key position, but instead appoints a less qualified minority person”).

10. MEOCS Equity Opinions. These four scales contain items selected from the full MEOCS instrument. A high score on each scale indicates a belief that there is equity in the CF; that is, they are scored so that high scores have a positive valence. The Discrimination scale contains four items (all negative; e.g., “Minorities get more extra work details than majority members”). The Reverse Discrimination scale has four items (all negative; e.g., “Some minorities get promoted just because they are minorities”). The Separatism scale has four items (all negative; e.g., “Minorities and majority members would be better off if they lived and worked only with people of their own races”). The Integration scale has four items (all positive; e.g., “This organization provides a good career chance for advancement for minorities and women”).

11. CF Equity Attitudes. The eleven items reflecting attitudes towards equity come from a variety of sources. The first four reflect the CF Employment Equity Principles outlined earlier (e.g., support for a policy that “Provides equitable opportunities to all serving members for training and development to enhance their abilities”). The other seven items were created from written comments made on an earlier CF employment equity survey. Six of these seven items were incorporated in the scale (five of which were negative; e.g., agreement that employment equity will “Give an unfair advantage to minorities” (R) or “Improve the CF’s capability to perform peace-keeping duties”).

Attitudes Towards Ethnic Groups. There were three measures of Ethnic Group Attitudes. Respondents were asked how comfortable they would feel being with individuals from fourteen

cultural backgrounds, under three degrees of intimacy: “being around,” “working in your unit with,” and “sharing living quarters in an operational setting with.” These comfort ratings were expressed with respect to Canadians of the following origins: English, French, Ukrainians, Sikhs, Indo-Pakistanis, Germans, Chinese, West Indian Blacks, Jews, Arabs, Italians, Portuguese, Native Canadian Indians, and Moslems. These groups are the same as those employed in MAS ‘91; only the first (“being around”) question is the same in the two studies.

Method

The basic method used was to survey, by questionnaire, a representative sample of CF members. The questionnaire was developed by the authors for purposes of this study, and was pilot tested with a small sample prior to fielding. The questionnaire was available in both official languages (English & French), and most respondents took the language version that corresponded to their stated official language.

There were two content versions of the questionnaire. One version (responded to by 2600 people in the Regular Force) did not contain the MEOCS Climate or Equity Opinion scales. The full version was responded to by 1830 individuals in the Regular and 922 in the Reserve Force. Data were coded and entered by CF personnel, and supplied to the authors in electronic form for analysis and interpretation.

Results

The demographic characteristics of the two samples are presented in Table 1, along with some indicators for the CF regular Force as a whole. The samples are not representative of the CF population in a number of ways: both the Regular and Reserve samples oversampled females, those with higher education (university and beyond), those with French mother tongue, and visible minorities. Since these demographic factors have a bearing on attitudes (see below) such overrepresentation will need to be kept in mind in interpreting the findings.

Ethnic origins and identities are shown in Table 2, along with some findings from the 1991 Census and the 1991 National Survey. With respect to ethnic origin, there is a good representation of British origin respondents, but a slight over-representation of those of French origin. For self-identity, there is a higher percentage of “Canadian” identifiers in both the Regular (84%) and Reserve (77%) samples than in the 1991 national survey (range 23% to 77%), a similar percentage of “Provincial” identifiers (8%), except that French mother tongue reservists claim it in 19% of cases, paralleling but not matching French respondents in Quebec in the national survey (57%), and a lower percentage of “ethnic” identifiers, particularly in the Regular Force.

Experiences of discrimination are presented in Table 3. Overall 18.3% of the Regular Force, and 15.8% of Reservists report experiencing discrimination in the past 12 months in the course of their work; most report experiencing it between 1 to 3 times. Language and gender are the main bases claimed, with personal characteristics, race and ethnic origin less frequently.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Regular and Reserve Samples, along with CF Population

Characteristic	Regular Sample N=2558	Reserve Sample N= 878	Canadian Forces (Regular)
Age	34.1 years	29.5 years	
Length of Service	13.9 years	8.0 years	
Gender:			
Male	76.4%	72.6%	89.4%
Female	23.6	27.4	10.6
Environment:			
Land	41.7	60.1	44.9
Sea	17.6	37.8	18.2
Air	40.7	2.1	36.9
Rank:			
Pte JNCO	46.9	53.3	54.7
SNCO	24.3	22.8	23.0
JO	19.0	18.0	15.2
SO	9.7	5.0	7.1
Education:			
<HS	11.2	4.8	17.7
HS	39.2	21.2	54.5
<UNIV	28.8	45.5	14.1
UNIV	20.5	28.5	13.7
Official Language:			
English	65.9	65.6	72.1
French	34.1	34.4	27.9
Aboriginal Status	1.7	2.3	1.4
Visible Minority	3.5	6.8	2.1

Further analyses (not shown in Table 3) reveal that language is relatively more often identified by those of French mother tongue, gender by females, and language, race, color, and ethnic origin by visible minorities. These claims of personal discrimination are low in comparison to reports of sexism and racism (using MEOCS scales, where between 25% and 30% report these problems to be present in the CF).

Table 2. Ethnic Origins and Ethnic Identities (Percentages)

Origin	Regular	Reserve	Canada ¹
British	33.4	31.1	28-39
French	32.0	28.6	23-31
German	8.2	9.5	<u>All other origins</u>
			31-38
Aboriginal	4.3	5.0	
Dutch	2.8	2.7	
Ukrainian	2.3	3.1	
Italian	1.8	2.2	
Polish	1.2	1.4	
Portuguese	0.5	0.7	
Chinese	0.4	1.6	
Jewish	0.3	0.7	
Other	12.5	13.5	
	100.0	100.0	

Note 1: Canadian Census (1991). Range between single and multiple origins

<u>Identity</u>	Regular			Reserve			1991 National survey ²			
	Tot	Eng ³	Fre	Tot	Eng	Fre	Eng		Fre	
							O	Q	O	Q
							V		V	
							E		E	
							R		R	
							L		L	
							I		I	
							N		N	
							E		E	
							Q		Q	
Canadian	84	86	78	77	82	65	77	60	56	23
Provincial	8	7	10	8	3	19	8	7	9	57
Ethnic	8	7	12	15	15	16	16	34	35	20

Note 2: From Kalin & Berry (1995); OVERLINE Q is outside Québec; Q is inside Québec

Note 3: Eng/Fre refers to language of interview.

Table 3. Experiences of Discrimination

	Regular		Reserve	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Experience? “Yes”	490	18.3	140	15.8
If Yes, How many times?	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1	61	2.5	19	2.1
2	68	2.8	33	3.7
3	63	2.6	23	2.6
4	44	1.8	16	1.8
5	30	1.2	10	1.1
6	29	1.2	3	0.3
7 or more	91	3.7	13	1.5
If Yes, due to:	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Language	183	7.0	35	3.9
Race	54	2.1	20	2.3
Religion	33	1.3	14	1.6
Gender	183	7.0	48	5.4
Ethnic Origin	55	2.1	17	1.9
Regional Origin	77	2.9	18	2.0
Color	47	1.8	16	1.8
Disability	51	2.0	14	1.6
Sexual Orientation	47	1.8	14	1.6
Personal Characteristics	126	4.8	43	4.8

With these descriptors as background, the various attitudes, opinions and perceptions can be presented and interpreted. In Table 4 are the Means for all variables for the Regular and Reserve samples, along with some means obtained with other samples (as indicated in the notes).

For Multicultural Ideology, there is a lower acceptance of diversity in both CF samples than in the national survey (means of 3.98 and 4.39 vs. 4.59). The difference between the CF samples and the national survey becomes more apparent when percentage distributions are examined: in the national survey 69% supported (with 27% opposed to) multiculturalism; in the two CF samples, the percentages were 47%/49% (support/opposition) and 62%/35% (support/opposition) in the Regular and Reserve samples, respectively. However, there is very little difference in Tolerance (means of 5.15 and 5.42 vs. 5.37). The percentages on the positive side of the tolerance scale are all high: 88% and 90% vs. 89% nationally.

Table 4. Means for Eleven Attitude Scales

Attitude Scale	Regular N = 2558	Reserve N = 922	Other Surveys
1. Multicultural Ideology	3.98	4.39	4.59 ¹
2. Tolerance	5.15	5.42	5.37 ¹
3. Program Attitudes	5.22	5.48	(5.95) ²
4. Perceived Consequences	4.52	4.90	(4.97) ²
5. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	4.60	4.48	4.0 ³
6. Justice Ideology	4.29	4.52	-
7. Just World Scale	3.90	3.90	-
8. MEOCS Work Effectiveness	5.33	5.33	5.32 ⁴
Commitment	4.89	5.23	4.38
Satisfaction	5.03	5.36	4.98
9. MEOCS Climate Sexual Harassment	4.88	4.88	5.35
Negative Behaviors	5.51	5.65	6.00
Positive Behaviors	5.27	5.54	5.06
Racism/Sexism	4.36	4.46	5.08
Reverse Discrimination	4.78	5.05	5.55
10. MEOCS Equity Opinions Discrimination	5.49	5.51	5.23
Reverse Discrimination	4.42	4.87	4.63
Separatism	5.65	5.84	5.73
Integration	4.48	4.33	4.55
Total Equity	5.01	5.14	-
11. CF Equity Attitudes	4.69	5.09	-

Note: 1 National Survey (1991) N = 3325, identical scales
2 National Survey (1991) N = 3325, modified scales
3 University students (1996) N = 1306, same items
4 MEOCS data supplied by DEOMI, rescaled to 7-point scale

For program Attitudes and Perceived Consequences, strict comparisons with the national survey are not possible because items in the CF study focused on the CF as an institution, rather than on Canadian society generally. However, CF means are numerically lower than the national ones, particularly in the Regular Force.

With respect to Right Wing Authoritarianism, no national means exist. However, compared to two samples of university students, RWA scores are higher in the CF. In the Regular Force, support for RWA was present in 80% of the sample (with 17% opposed); the Reservists had 71% support and 22% opposition. In the University sample, the support was 44%, and opposition was 52%.

The MEOCS work scales show similar Effectiveness in the CF and U.S. responses, but somewhat higher Commitment and Satisfaction in the CF compared to the U.S.

For MEOCS Climate scales (which are all scored in the direction of a positive climate) there is a somewhat more negative perception of climate in the CF than in the U.S. sample on four of the five scales (all except Positive Command Behaviors). However, all means are clearly on the positive side of the midpoint of the scale. Nevertheless, there is substantial evidence on the Racism/Sexism scale for the presence of “jokes” (48%) “put downs” (27%) and “offensive names” (25%) in the CF Regular Force, with similar percentages in the Reserve Force (50%, 27% and 22%) respectively.

For MEOCS Equity Opinions, views are all positive; where differences do exist, contrary to the Climate scales, they favor a more positive situation in the CF samples compared to the U.S. data.

While there are many variables, they appear to fall fairly clearly into three factors (Table 5): (I) attitudes towards diversity and equity; (III) perceptions of and beliefs about the equity climate; and (II) concerns about work morale.

In the Regular Force and Reserve Force these three factors are very similar. Diversity attitudes (factor I) include all the main diversity and equity attitudes (positive loading) and RWA (negative); in addition two of the MEOCS equity opinion scales (Reverse Discrimination and Separatism) load on this factor. Thus there is a clear cluster that links positive attitudes towards diversity and equity, and low RWA. A second factor (II) links all the perception of climate scales together into a cluster that is generally independent of one’s diversity and equity attitudes. However as noted above, two of these equity opinion scales also load on Factor I, suggesting a partial link between attitudes and opinions (but not climate perceptions). The third factor (III) concerns work morale and is unrelated to the other scales. That is, morale seems to be independent of one’s attitudes towards diversity and perceptions of institutional climate.

Distributions on these scales were affected by some demographic factors. Multiple Regression analyses were carried out; the Beta weights are shown in Tables 6 & 7 for Regular and Reserve Samples (significant ones only), along with the Multiple R (right hand column). In general the level of prediction of attitudes is low; however, gender (female), education or rank (higher), age (older), and language (English) were frequently predictive of greater acceptance of diversity and equity. For the MEOCS scales, level of prediction is also low; however, gender, rank and language predict climate and equity opinions, but there is less prediction for work morale.

In addition to the demographic factors shown in Tables 6 and 7, analyses of attitudes in relation to the experience of discrimination revealed that the more one has been discriminated against, the less one feels committed and satisfied (but not less effective), and the more one perceives there to be a negative climate and inequitable practices in the CF. Put another way, the more positive one is on the MEOCS morale, climate and equity scales, the less one believes that they have been discriminated against.

Table 5. Factor Analyses of Attitude Variables: Two and Three Factor Solutions

Attitude Scale	Regular			Reserve		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
1. Multicultural Ideology	.71			.73		
2. Tolerance	.67			.72		
3. Program Attitudes	.78			.78		
4. Perceived Consequences	.85			.78		
5. CF Equity Attitudes	.85			.81		
6. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	-.41			-.40		
7. Justice Ideology	.50			.50		
8. Just World Scale	-			-		
9. MEOCS Work						
Effectiveness			.68			.66
Commitment			.75			.76
Satisfaction			.55			.57
10. MEOCS Climate						
Sexual Harassment		.71			.72	
Negative Behaviors		.85			.84	
Positive Behaviors		.44			(.33)	
Racism/Sexism		.55			.67	
Reverse Discrimination		.53			.65	
11. MEOCS Equity Opinion						
Discrimination		.67			.72	
Reverse Discrimination	.46	(30)		.46	(.39)	
Separatism	.55	.41		.52	.44	
Integration	-	-		-	-	

Table 6. Multiple Regression Analyses: Significant Predictors of Attitudes in Regular Sample (Betas)

Attitude Scale	Predictors								
	N	Age	Gender	Edu	Rank	Off. Lang	Environment Land	Air	Multiple R
1. Multicultural Ideology	2597		.11		.09	.15			.25
2. Tolerance	2600		.06	.10		.21			.28
3. Program Attitudes	2589		.10			.12			.17
4. Perceived Consequences	2573	.07	.09		.08				.19
5. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	2580		-.07	-.15			.09		.23
6. Justice Ideology	2584	.09	.06			.06			.13
7. Just World Scale	2583		-.08		.11				.15
8. MEOCS Work Effectiveness	2583	.09				.08			.14
Commitment	2577			-.09	.09				.11
Satisfaction	2579				.11				.11
9. MEOCS Climate Sexual Harassment	1830		-.16			.07	.08	.09	.20
Negative Behaviors	1824		-.06		.20	.19			.28
Positive Behaviors	1821					.14			.18
Racism/Sexism	1824	.09			.16	.19			.29
Reverse Discrimination	1821	.11	.08		.12	.08		.07	.22
10. MEOCS Equity Opinions Discrimination	1826		.16		.22	.12			.28
Reverse Discrimination	1824		.20		.22	-.09			.28
Separatism	1827		.13		.13	.17			.27
Integration	1827	.08		.13	.19	-.06			.26
11. CF Equity Attitudes	2567	.07							.14

.09

Note: Beta weights are entered in appropriate predictor column, where significant at least at $P < .01$.

Table 7. Multiple Regression Analyses: Significant Predictors of Attitudes in Reserve Sample (Betas)

Attitude Scale	Predictors							Multiple R
	N	Age	Gender	Edu	Rank	Off. Lang	Environment	
1. Multicultural Ideology	922		.22			.24		.35
2. Tolerance	917		.13	.16		.16		.29
3. Program Attitudes	921		.18			.15		.24
4. Perceived Consequences	908		.14					.18
5. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	907			-.23			.11	.30
6. Justice Ideology	910		.14					.17
7. Just World Scale	907		-.09	.14				.18
8. MEOCS Work Effectiveness	905			-.12	.12			.15
Commitment	905			-.12	.12	-.08		.16
Satisfaction	904		.09	-.14	.09	-.14		.21
9. MEOCS Climate Sexual Harassment	902					.12		.15
Negative Behaviors	900		.07		.12	.16	.09	.22
Positive Behaviors	898	-.15	.11			.18		.24
Racism/Sexism	897					.17		.21
Reverse Discrimination	897		.13		.10	.16		.24
10. MEOCS Equity Opinions Discrimination	898				.13	.07		.17
Reverse Discrimination	896	-.12	.21		.14			.27
Separatism	897		.20		.10	.21		.30
Integration	892			-.10		.11		.18
11. CF Equity Attitudes	909		.18					.20

Note: Beta weights are entered in appropriate predictor column, where significant at least at $P < .01$.

With respect to attitudes towards specific groups, Figures 1 and 2 show “comfort levels” in the Regular and Reserve Forces with people of various origins, in three situations (in general or “being around” working with, and living with). Differences in these attitudes between Anglophone and Francophone respondents in both samples are shown in Figures 3 and 4 (for “being around” only).

There is a clear difference in these comfort levels across ethnic groups being rated (Figures 1 & 2), with those of British and French Origin rated highest, followed by those of other European Origins, and then by those not of European origins. There is also a difference in comfort levels according to the setting: “working with” is generally more highly rated than “being around” or “living with.”

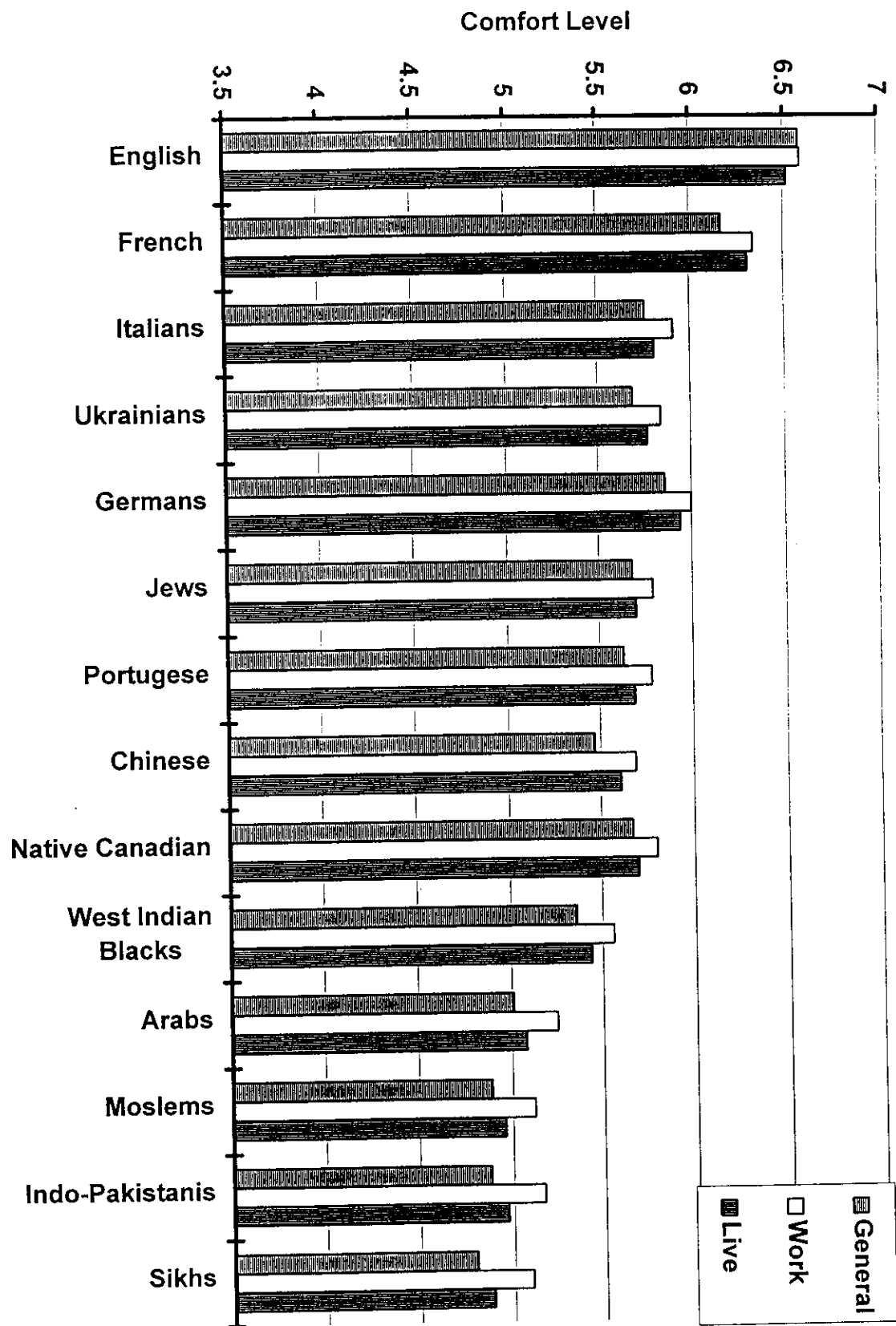


Fig. 1 Comfort Ratings for 14 Groups in Three Settings

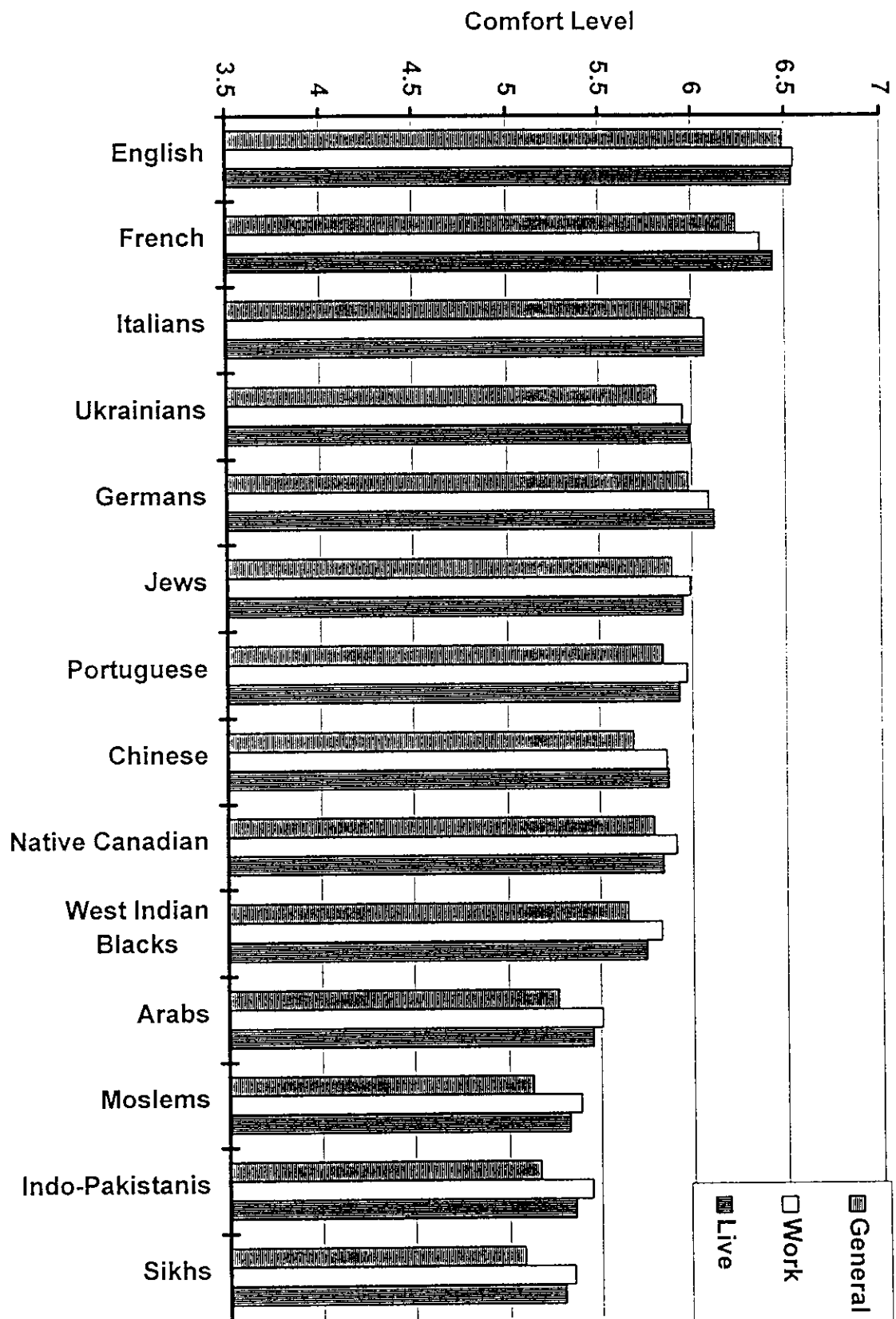


Fig. 2 Comfort Ratings for 14 Groups in Three Settings (Reserves)

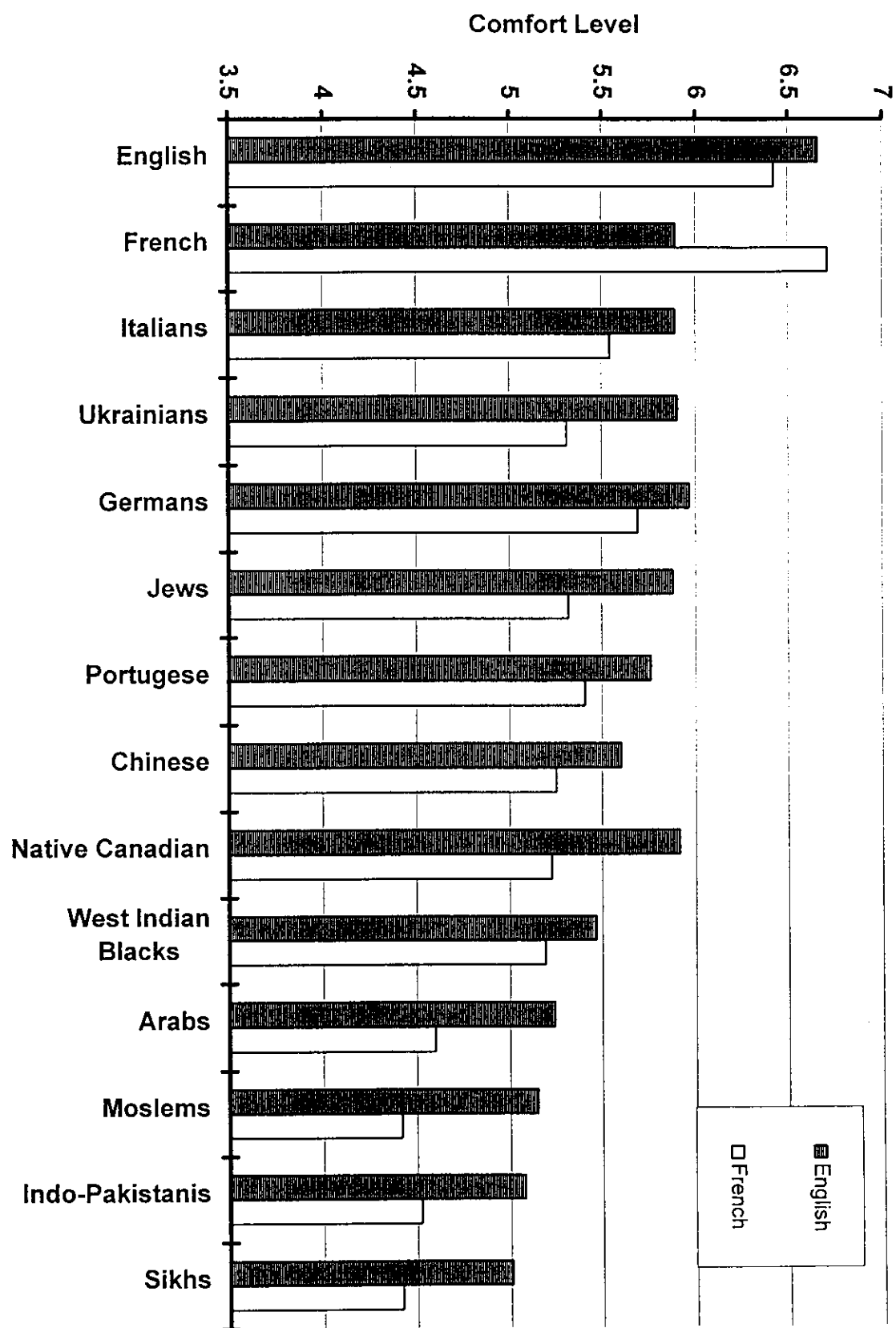


Fig. 3 Comfort Ratings for 14 Groups Made by Respondents with English or French Official Language

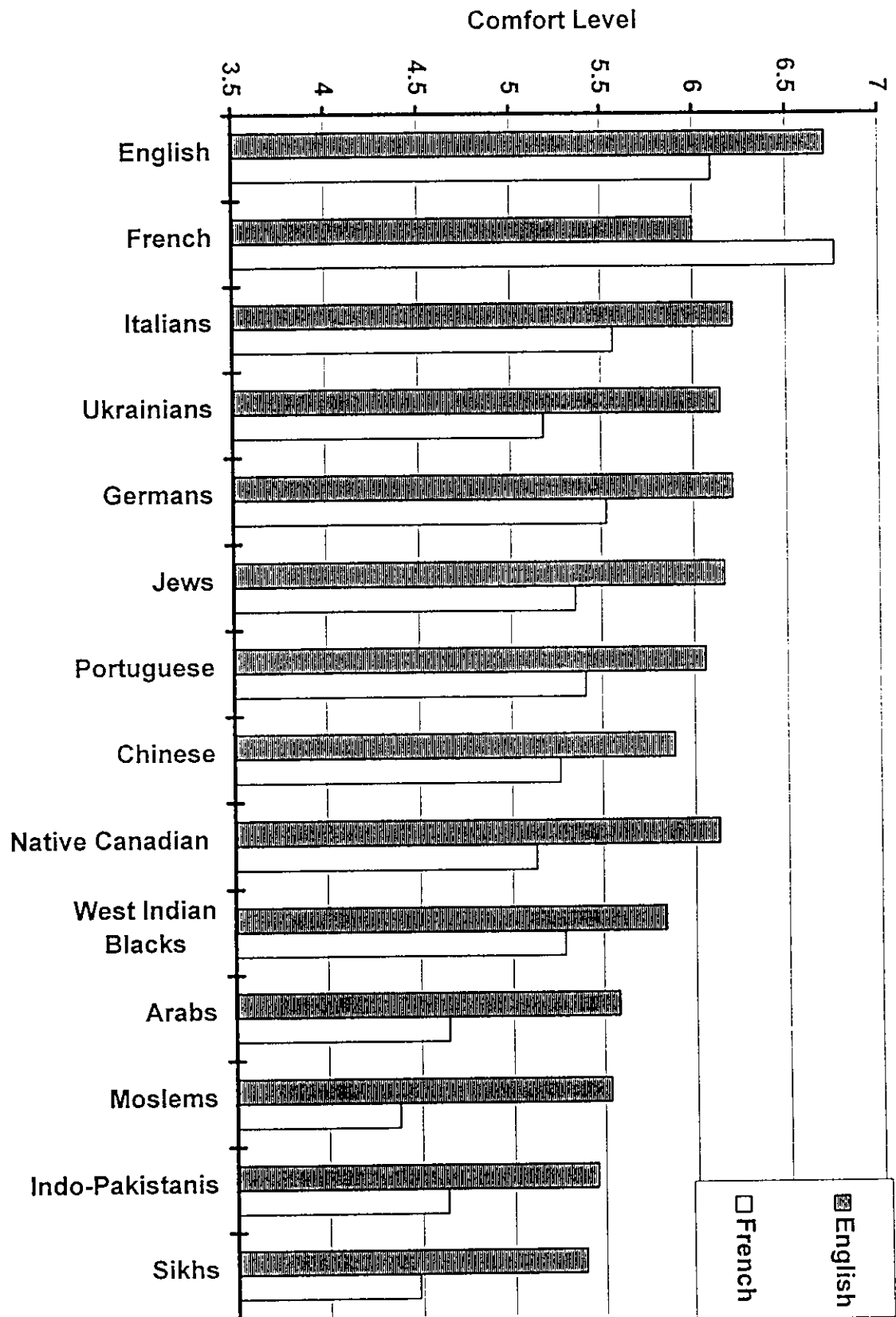


Fig. 4 Comfort Ratings for 14 Groups Made by Respondents with English or French Official Language (Reserves)

With respect to differences in comfort levels between those with English or French mother tongue, Figures 3 and 4 show a clear pattern: except for ratings of French, those with French as their mother tongue are consistently less comfortable with all other groups than those with English as their mother tongue.

Relationship between respondents' scores on the Tolerance scale, and attitudes towards four groups (those most and least accepted: British, French, Indo-Pakistani and Sikh) are shown in Figures 5 and 6 separately for Anglophone and Francophone respondents in the Regular Force only (since the Reserve pattern is similar). It is evident that the most Tolerant respondents (at the right) make virtually no distinction in their comfort ratings with the four groups. In contrast, those least Tolerant (at left), make a strong distinction: the two "charter groups" (British and French) are rated relatively more positively than the two other groups. Note that the comfort levels with the British and French groups are reversed between Figures 5 and 6, with each respondent group rating comfort with itself higher. It is also important to note that for even the least Tolerant respondents, the other charter group ratings remain positive; that is the other group serves as a positive reference group. However, this positive reference group status is weaker for Anglophone respondents' comfort with French than for Francophone respondents comfort with British.

Discussion and Conclusions

The basic issue being addressed here is whether the profile of attitudes, opinions and perceptions found in the CF is compatible with the articulated goal of achieving diversity and equity. Of course there is no single or simple answer possible. In part, this is due to the need to consider the joint roles of personal and institutional factors in achieving the goal; individual attitudes and organizational structures are intimately linked, and need to be considered together (Berry, 1997c). And in part, the question is difficult to answer because of the complexity of the findings. However, at a very general level, we can say that the attitude profile in the CF is not very discrepant from that found in the general population, and is within range of meeting the diversity and equity goals established by the CF, and more broadly by Canadian public policy.

Considering the individual-level findings reported here (and assuming that the new institutional leadership will implement the necessary organizational changes), we can first note that virtually all indicators are in the positive range of the scales. Discrimination rates are fairly low (16% to 18%), all attitudes, perceptions and opinions are positive (or at least neutral), and morale is fairly high. Of course, with few exceptions, there are no standards against which to make this general assertion. However, if the opposite (i.e., a negative) profile were present, such a general conclusion would not be possible.

Second, we can characterize the Reserve Force as having a more positive profile than the Regular Force (and where it is possible to compare, more similar to the Canadian population). This pattern suggests the differential influence of a number of factors, including self-selection, institutional selection, and institutional socialization on attitudes. However, these factors were not explicitly examined in the study.

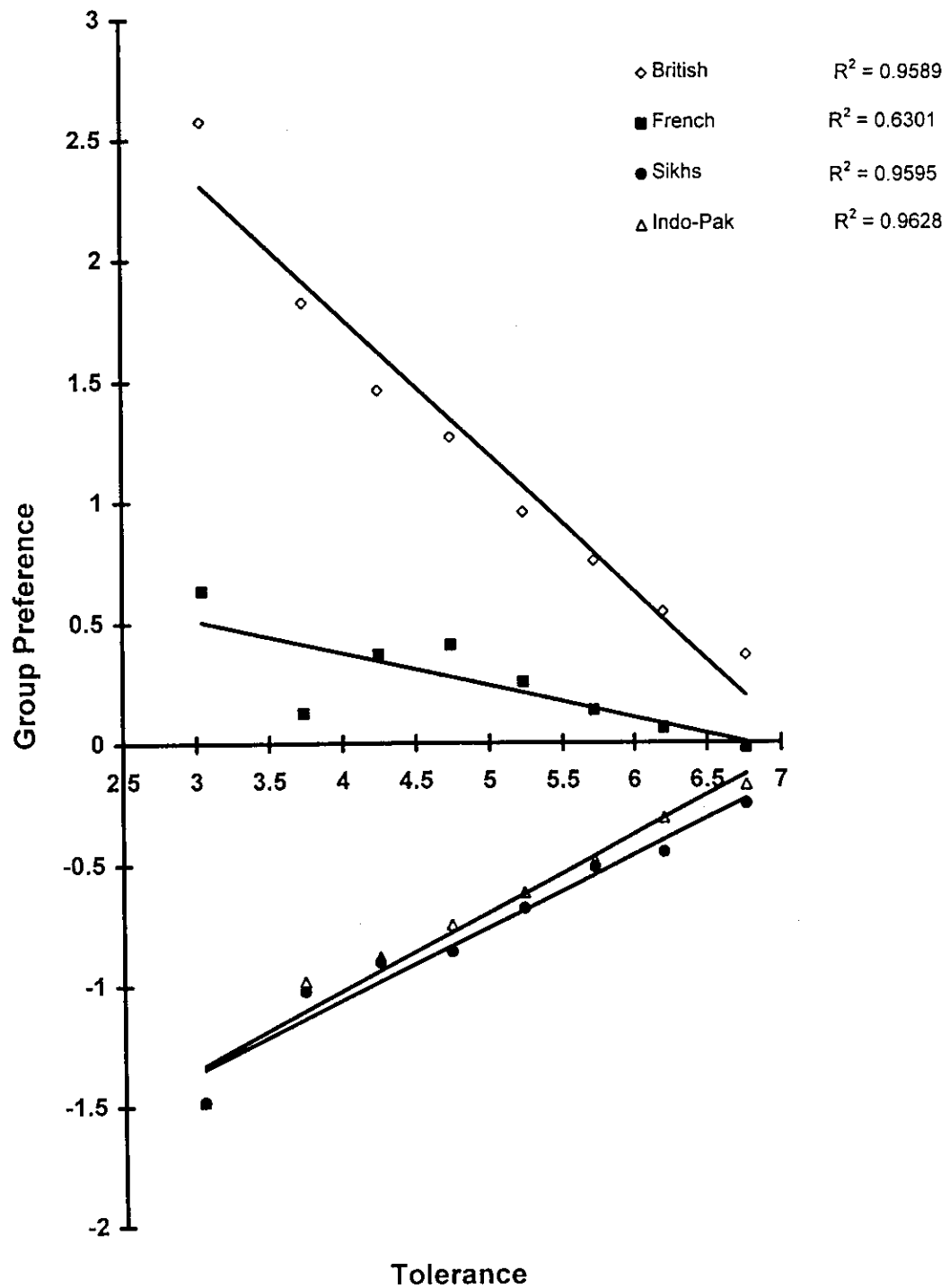


Fig. 5 Positive or Negative Group Preference, as a Function of Tolerance for two Preferred and two Non-preferred Groups (Among Anglophone Respondents)

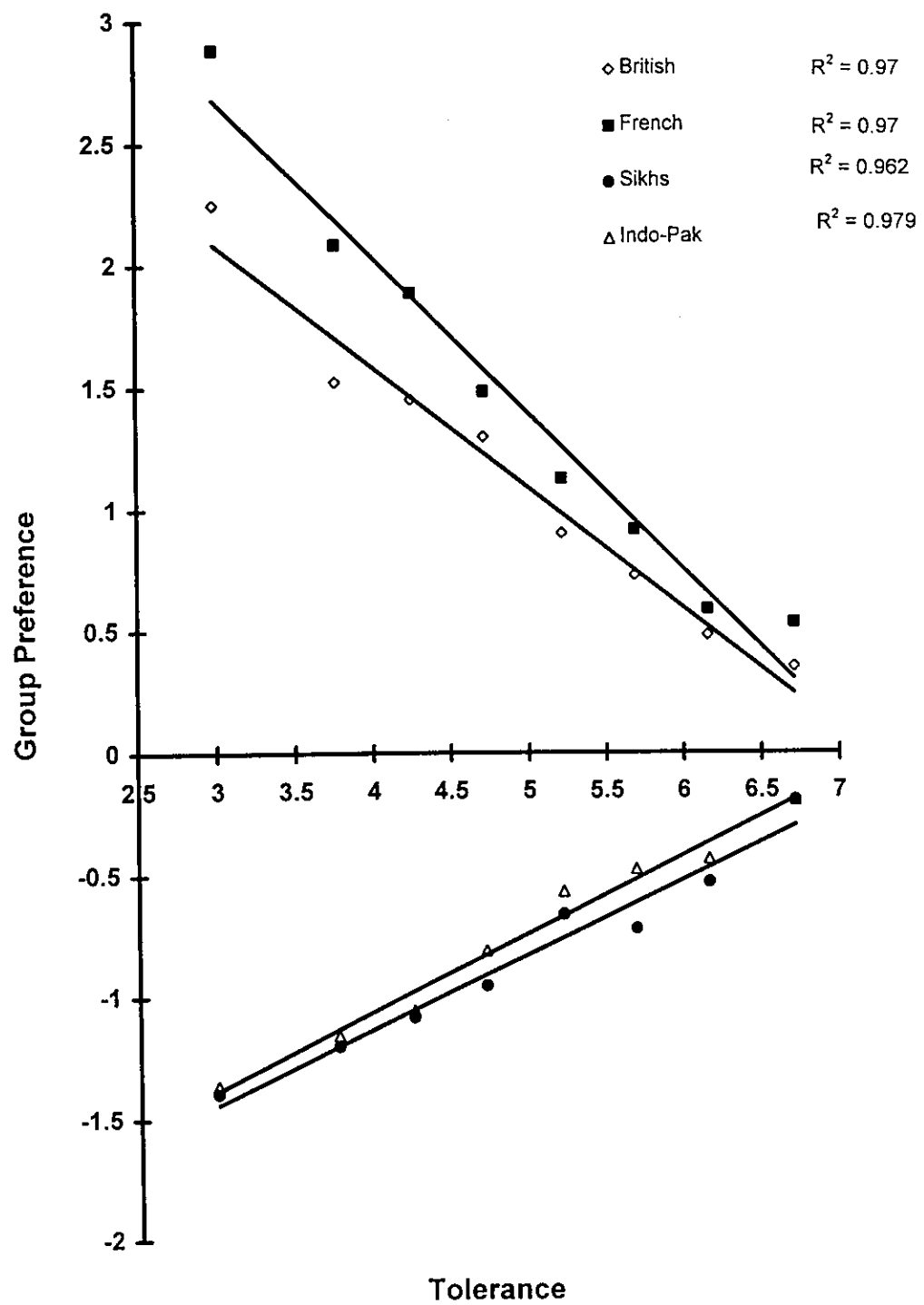


Fig. 6 Positive or Negative Group Preference, as a Function of Tolerance for two Preferred and two Non-preferred Groups (Among Francophone Respondents)

Third, the attitude profile is related in a systematic (if limited) way to some demographic and experiential factors. There are gender differences in many of the variables, with females being more accepting of diversity and equity (and less authoritarian), perceiving a less positive climate (more sexual harassment, and more negative behaviors) in the Regular Force, but reporting no differences in work morale. Status indicators (higher education and rank) predict a greater acceptance of diversity and equity (but not specifically CF equity principles), and the perception of a more positive climate. With respect to morale, those with higher education had lower morale, but those with higher rank had higher morale. Anglophones had more positive diversity and equity attitudes (and attitudes towards specific ethnic groups) than Francophones, and perceived a more positive climate. However, with respect to work morale, Anglophones in the Regular Force felt more effective, but in the Reserve Force they felt less commitment and satisfaction. Finally, in both examples, the Army showed more Right Wing Authoritarianism than the Air or Sea forces.

Having noted a generally positive attitude profile, and showing some links to demographic indicators, it must also be said that all is not well. There are findings within these patterns that are cause for serious concern. (Even retaining and hiring only Anglophone educated females to staff and manage the CF would not eliminate these concerns)! Clearly the negative side of the distributions of attitudes are not empty: the proportions that give negative responses vary from one in ten to one in two, depending on the attitude being assessed. These individuals represent substantial numbers who are obviously not tolerant of diversity and equity, either in general or in the CF. And while a smaller proportion are on the negative side of the morale scales, almost one in five in the Regular Force (one in ten in the Reserve) is less than committed to the CF, and up to a third perceive there to be racism, sexism and reverse discrimination in the CF. These individuals also represent substantial numbers for whom the CF experience is not a positive one.

Maintaining our earlier assumption that the new leadership will bring about the necessary institutional changes (in leadership, recruitment, training and promotion, and in the general military culture), what can be done at this individual level? First, the articulated policies promoting diversity and equity need to become known and accepted by all those now serving in the CF. We do not know about degrees of knowledge, but we do know that levels of acceptance are not 100%, nor uniformly distributed. Second, recruitment procedures into the CF should include features that attract or induce those more likely to have positive diversity attitudes to apply. Proactive outreach may be necessary, given the recent negative public portrayal of the CF (Bosnia, Somalia, training practices, harassment charges etc.). Third, selection criteria should include attitude and opinion measures in order to screen out those holding views that are incompatible with the diversity and equity goals of the CF. And, fourth training (both initial and ongoing) needs to eliminate any conventional practice that undermines the value of or acceptance of diversity; and social support programs will need to be provided during these “acculturative” changes.

As noted earlier such changes in the kinds of individual attitudes examined in this study can only be accomplished if there is a parallel change in the CF as an institution. Change programs focused solely on individuals (e.g., “cultural sensitivity” or “intercultural” training) can only succeed in a climate of supportive institutional change.

References

- Altemeyer, R. (1988). *Enemies of freedom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Berry, J. W. (1984). Multicultural policy in Canada: A social psychological analysis. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 16, 353-370.
- Berry, J. W. (1997a). Individual and group relations in plural societies. In C. Granrose & S. Oskamp (Eds.), *Cross-cultural work groups* (pp. 17-35). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Berry, J. W. (1997b). Immigration, acculturation and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46, 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (1997c). *A conceptual framework for achieving diversity and equity in the Canadian Forces*. Report to CFPRT, Ottawa.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An overview of the 1991 National survey. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 27, 301-320.
- Kalin, R. & Berry, J. W. (1995). Ethnic and civic self-identity in Canada: Analyses of 1974 and 1991 national surveys. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 27, 1-15.
- Landis, D., Dansby, M., & Faley, R. (1993). The Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey. In P. Rosenfeld, J. E. Edwards, & M. D. Thomas (Eds.), *Improving organizational surveys* (pp. 122-142). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Rabin, Z., & Peplau, L. (1975). Who believes in a just world? *Journal of Social Issues*, 31, 65-87.
- Rasinsky, K. (1987). What's fair is fair - or is it? Value differences underlying public views about social justice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 201-211.
- Ward, C. (1996). Acculturation. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training*, (pp. 124-147). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Development and Application of the University Equal Opportunity Climate Survey

Dan Landis & Billy Barrios
University of Mississippi

Dasia Black-Guttman & Paul Chesterton
National Catholic University, Australia

Abstract

Drawing on the Military Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (MEOCS), a version was developed for administration to university students. This version, the University Equal Opportunity Climate Survey (UEOCS), was administered to samples in the U.S. (Mississippi, Oklahoma), India, and Australia. The data from each site were factor analyzed and those results subjected to a second order factor analysis in which locale was the unit of analysis. Results indicated that there was considerable stability in underlying climate dimensions across sites/cultures. These results are discussed in terms of the problems inherent in adapting the climate survey to other populations and settings.

Contributors

Bartle, Simon A.	101	Schneider, Kimberly T.	202
Berggren, Anders W.	69	Segal, Mady Wechsler	108
Berry, J. W.	238	Sellman, W. S.	133
Blomgren, Ebbe	69	Shanks, Ronald D.	182
Bolton, Jose	71	Simpson, Miles	35
Butler, John Sibley	12	Stanley, Eurydice	71
Culbertson, Amy	153	Verdugo, Naomi	153, 182
Dansby, M. R.	18, 49, 101, 153	Webb, Schuyler	71
Edwards, Jack	170		
Eitelberg, Mark	72		
Estrada, Armando X.	202		
Feagin, Joe	54		
Gutman, Arthur	68		
Hochhaus, Larry	113		
Jones, J. C.	70		
Kalin, Rudolf	238		
Knouse, Stephen B.	84, 92		
Landis, Dan	215, 238		
Leftwich, William E. III	1		
Masterson, Michael J.	92		
McIntyre, Robert M.	101		
Moskos, Charles	8, 12		
Murray, G. E.	70, 191		
Nacoste, Rupert W.	124		
Niebuhr, Katherine E.	92		
Niebuhr, Robert E.	92		
Peterson, Morris	153		
Rosenfeld, Paul	153, 238		